J. H. Srawley, Sutton Vicarage, Ely.

PRAYER BOOK REVISION AND CHRISTIAN REUNION

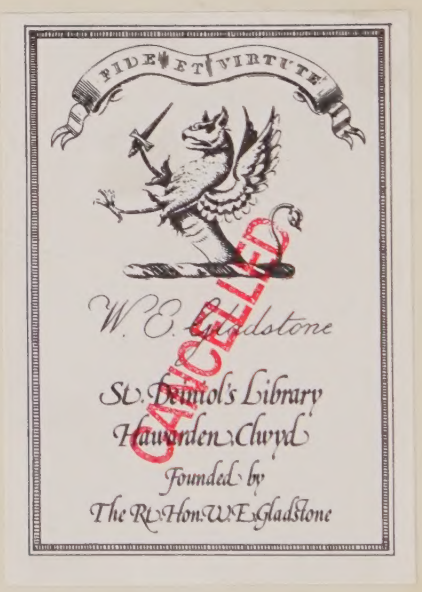
SOME ESSENTIALS DISCUSSED IN THE LIGHT OF LITURGICAL FACTS AND PRINCIPLES

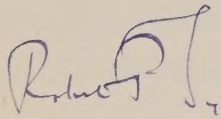
By

FRANCIS C. EELES

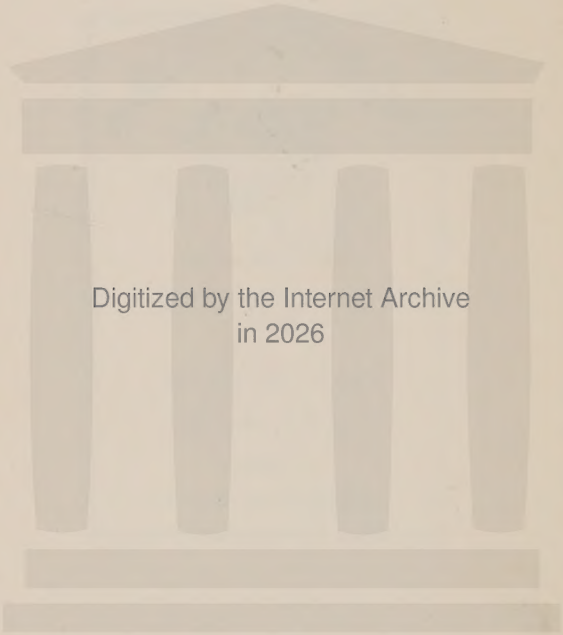
CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1923

G 26/28


FIDE ET VIRTUTE
W. E. Gladstone
St. Deiniol's Library
Hawarden Clwyd
Founded by
The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone
CANCELLED



1954.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/prayerbookrevisi0000fran

PRAYER BOOK REVISION AND CHRISTIAN REUNION

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: Fetter Lane
C. F. CLAY, Manager

NEW YORK
The Macmillan Co.
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA and MADRAS
Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
TORONTO
The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd.
TOKYO
Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha

All Rights Reserved

PRAYER BOOK REVISION AND CHRISTIAN REUNION

SOME ESSENTIALS DISCUSSED IN THE LIGHT OF LITURGICAL FACTS AND PRINCIPLES

By

FRANCIS C. EELES

Editor of *The Holyrood Ordinale*: author of *Traditional Ceremonial connected with the Scottish Liturgy*, etc.

CAMBRIDGE

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1923

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

THIS book contains a discussion of Prayer Book Revision in the light of the wider question of Christian reunion.

An appeal is made for more extended liturgical study to meet the situation caused by the increasing tendency of an influential section of Anglo-Catholics to turn to the Roman Church as their authority on these matters. In view of the way in which this Roman appeal has grown up from small beginnings in ceremonial till it now covers nearly everything and threatens to divide what was once the High Church party, it is important to review the whole question of liturgical authority in the Church of England, as well as to consider actual revision proposals. Lack of space has made it necessary to confine attention to the service for Holy Communion, but the allied subject of Reservation has been included.

As many now feel that no Prayer Book revision settlement will be lasting until the question of ceremonial is faced, the writer has discussed the principles involved with a fulness not hitherto attempted. He makes an urgent plea for regulation of ceremonial on Catholic and generous as well as practical and English lines, as an integral part of liturgical reform. It is not generally realised that while the great mass of high churchmen or Anglo-Catholics have no wish to follow Roman authority in things either great or small, an active section has long refused the guidance of the English liturgical scholars whose work is respected abroad, and prefer to take their instructions from the

Roman standards of to-day. The Roman movement has now become definitely ultramontane, and the Anglo-Catholics who promote it are allying themselves with the thought of the counter-reformation. The reactions of this are likely to be far greater than is commonly realised. The one thing that seems certain is that reunion with Rome will not be hastened, while reunion in other directions will be endangered. The writer wishes to make it clear that he does not wish to attack the Roman Church, or even to criticise Romanising Anglicans upon the familiar lines of the Protestant controversialist. But he feels it vital that the Roman question should be faced, as there is now good evidence that if Anglo-Catholics would only return to the olden time of non-Roman and definitely English Catholicism, or in other words a Western and modern equivalent of the Orthodox Eastern position, there might well ensue a drawing together of all save a few extremists and an ending of party strife in the Church of England.

F. C. E.

3 *November* 1923.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
PREFACE		v
CHAPTER I.	*Introduction*	1
CHAPTER II.	*What is our Authority in Liturgical Questions?*	14
CHAPTER III.	*Prayer Book Revision: General Possibilities*	35
CHAPTER IV.	*Prayer Book Revision: Some Proposed Schemes Criticised*	44
CHAPTER V.	*The Question of Ceremonial: English or Roman?*	67
CHAPTER VI.	*How the Church of England could Regulate Ceremonial*	96
CHAPTER VII.	*Reservation of the Eucharist*	102
APPENDIX I		120
APPENDIX II		126
APPENDIX III		133

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

THIS book contains an attempt to apply liturgical and historical principles to certain of the problems of Prayer Book revision in the Church of England, particularly those relating to the service of Holy Communion, in view of the bearing of the whole subject on the question of Christian Reunion.

In historic Christendom outside the Anglican and reformed churches, there are roughly speaking two systems of thought, two points of view. One is Eastern, the other Western. The Western may again be divided into two, the one Roman or ultramontane, the other Gallican. Of these, the latter is nearer to the Eastern than the other. And the ultramontane is the further removed from modern thought. The Catholic revival in the Church of England has sprung from a revived conception of the English Church as a part of the Church universal, of the consequent claims of the appeal to the whole body, and hence of the vital importance of a reunited Christendom. Upon this basis, the natural and only practical line of development is in the direction of Gallican rather than Roman, Eastern rather than Western thought. Christian reunion can only be sought on the Roman basis if we accept the papal claims. But there has lately become evident among Anglo-Catholics a definite and indeed organised movement in the Roman or ultramontane direction which, nevertheless, does not accept those claims, and while not getting really nearer to Rome, is likely to prove a serious obstacle to Christian reunion

upon the other lines indicated. This strangely contradictory development is perhaps the most important factor in the matter of Prayer Book revision, for the simple reason that this Roman tendency—using these words in the strict sense and not in that of popular Protestantism—appears to have grown out of regarding the Roman services and ceremonies as a safe and authoritative guide in practice, without any intention of going further. The result has been an ever-increasing approximation to Roman teaching and methods in other matters, until we now find influential Anglo-Catholics more ultramontane than many theologians who have lived in communion with the Roman see, and yet stopping short of the logical step of submission to Roman authority. The reactions of this—inevitable before long—upon the possibilities of reunion, not merely with the reformed churches, but also with the Orthodox Easterns, are likely to become serious in the near future.

Anyone who moves about the country is conscious of rapidly increasing divergence of view among Anglo-Catholics. Community of outlook on many things cannot obscure much longer the increasing divergence caused by the coexistence of two fundamentally opposed standpoints. While what has here been likened to the Eastern or Gallican standpoint is full of possibilities in other directions, its holders are not in any sense sharers of a merely Protestant hostility to Roman Catholics. The choice, on the other hand, of definitely Roman ideals in teaching and in services is surely calculated to alienate those in whom Protestantism is a strong and living reality. Perhaps the most significant example of what is here indicated is afforded by the controversy on the reservation of the Eucharist. Reservation for the sick

is primitive, and is Catholic in the old sense of that word. But Benediction and extra-liturgical "devotions" are a late and locally Western development, abhorrent to Protestants, and disliked by the Orthodox East. Not content with securing the former, many Anglo-Catholics are fighting for the latter. The mere fact of reservation for the sick is a sufficient witness against Protestant doctrinal negations. Here the practice of the Eastern Church—admitted even by Rome for her Eastern subjects—is common ground to East and West, and has become a possible basis of an agreed settlement between all parties in the Church of England. Yet there are Anglo-Catholics who will accept nothing short of the current Roman usages here with all their entailment of bitter controversy. This is symptomatic of the whole position and outlook, which is very puzzling to the onlooker.

Let us try to regard Prayer Book revision from the wider aspect. The eyes of the world are turned upon the Church of England as never before in her history. The Prayer Book is the one accessible official manual by which she is judged. *Lex orandi lex credendi.* While the student will deal tenderly with features in an ancient rite which are the fossilized relics of long forgotten controversies, the theologian and the practical man of to-day will employ a different standard in judging a modern revision. The accusation of Romanising is made against the English Church by Protestants, if not also by Easterns. The objection is not so much liturgical as authoritarian. Assimilation to what Roman authority requires is taken as evidence of accepting that authority, or at any rate of treating it with peculiar respect. On the other hand, failure to learn from the common practice

of Christendom, or to throw off the bondage of a misinterpreted Reformation settlement, would be regarded as a certain mark of self-sufficiency, and therefore an abandonment of the Catholic claim.

The movement for Prayer Book revision is mere waste of energy if it does not issue in an immensely improved book, based upon the common sense of Christendom. Unfortunately it is being seriously vitiated by considerations of party. On the one side there is sheer conservatism, while on the other are proposals which form part of a system of assimilation to a single other series of service books, namely the Roman. This latter tendency is chiefly the result of a praiseworthy desire for a large measure of Christian reunion, that is to say, between the Anglican and Roman Churches. But this movement, at bottom authoritarian rather than liturgical, stimulates opposition from those who are anxious that nothing be done to divide the Church of England, or to hinder friendly relations with the reformed churches, with Nonconformity or with the East. There is, moreover, a very large amount of ignorance and misunderstanding, as well as a tradition, largely true, that liturgiologists have always been high churchmen. So the low churchman suspects them in a vague way of mediaevalism or popery. Yet the dominant section of modern Anglo-Catholics in their present mood of assimilating services to those of the Roman rite are at variance with our best liturgical scholarship. For they look at the question from a conception of Church authority which obliges them to regard reunion with the Roman see as the first consideration, and liturgiology as a thing apart, or at least very secondary. From another angle, the broad churchmen, or rather let us say, men of liberal

tendencies in several schools of thought, also tend to regard liturgical technicalities as belonging to things narrow or old-fashioned, in strange oblivion of the fact that truth and accurate knowledge of a subject are closely related, and must inevitably be the basis of action.

It is the present intention to try to bring the consideration of the whole question back to facts, and to explain the relation of the more important proposals to the results of liturgical research. In particular it will be necessary to consider carefully the recent developments on the Anglo-Catholic side, how far they are likely to assist Christian reunion, to what extent they are based upon the Roman rite or why, the general relation between that rite and other non-Anglican rites, old and new, Western or Eastern. It will be necessary to test these things by the Catholic appeal which has been the historic basis of the Anglican claim to be a part of the historic Catholic Church. And it will also be advisable to bring to the same test the question of the use of the Eucharist reserved, which has lately assumed an altogether disproportionate degree of importance. The writer is convinced that much useless and barren controversy might be avoided if only a whole-hearted appeal to the common sense of Christendom could be secured, or in other words, if only people could be brought back to liturgical facts and principles.

There seems little chance at present of any real change in the position as regards our relations with Rome[1]. This is all the more reason why we should consider first of all what is likely to promote friendliness in other

[1] That the recent excessively Roman trend in Anglo-Catholicism has not helped the cause of reunion with Rome is evident if we examine carefully the latest indications on the Roman side.

directions. The Roman claims themselves could be more usefully considered by the rest of Christendom if united, than in the present state of disunion. At present we can visualise nothing but a deadlock: it may be that this can only be broken as a consequence of the reunion of the rest of Christendom.

Approaching Prayer Book revision with these considerations in mind, we can see that it is one thing to restore to our services those elements which are common to all Christian worship, but are disliked by Protestants and regarded by them as Roman, while it is quite another thing to attempt to carry out everything in accordance with the detailed instructions laid down by Roman Catholic authority. If we are to enrich our services by prayers and ceremonies drawn from what are broadly called "Catholic" sources, ancient or modern, we need not go to the Roman rite. We could turn to other Western forms of service, some still used within the Roman communion, others formerly used, like our old pre-reformation English rites; or we might do as the non-jurors did in the 18th century, and borrow from the Eastern services, and this in many and varied combinations. We say nothing for the present of elements entirely new. The claim of Puritanism to exclude enrichment is not calculated to set forward the reunion of Christendom. But the nature of such enrichment and its sources must be conditioned by our conception of the Church, and whether we seek reunion first with Rome or with the East, and how we are prepared to regard the reformed churches.

Therefore the whole question of Prayer Book revision rests ultimately on our view of the nature of the Christian Church and of Church authority, and this in its turn is

intimately bound up with the actual practice of the Church herself in her worship, which is only ascertainable through an appeal to the facts of liturgical history.

Obviously we have now the chance of getting the best possible revised services and of using the vast store of material opened up to us by modern liturgical research. Prayer Book revision has been discussed for years. With what result? *Parturiunt montes*—we know the sequel. It is in the National Assembly's official proposals which, as regards the Communion Service, are singularly timid. Why? Because the Low Churchmen—and others too—are afraid of Romanising. On the other hand, the English Church Union proposals are equally without imagination. Why? Partly, no doubt, because the compilers are afraid of going too far, but partly also because they seem tied to the Roman rite whenever they go outside Anglican sources. The "Grey" or "Orange Book" proposals alone show vision or freedom, or any attempt either to use recent learning or to get clear of the Roman obsession, whether positive or negative. It would seem that if we could only get away from that, we might bury the hatchet of the party controversy between high and low churchmen. True, the Catholic revival has overcome the old antagonism of Puritan Protestantism to any appeal to the Church universal, to sacramentalism, or to beauty in worship. But Anglo-Catholicism has only lived down one kind of hostility to engender another. If the old Protestant attacked the Oxford Movement for a Romanism which did not really exist, there is now arising a real and definite appeal to Rome which is alienating churchmen of very different sympathies.

To sum up the situation in a few words. The Anglo-

Catholics include an increasing section, fast becoming dominant, who have substituted an appeal to Rome for the appeal to the Church universal. They have largely rejected the teaching of all the liturgical scholars the Catholic revival brought forth in the last half century. Till Mr Athelstan Riley spoke out last summer there were very few people who realised that there are Anglican clergymen using the Roman missal instead of the Prayer Book. Even now it is not at all widely known that the elaborate services of most of the prominent "ritualistic" London, Birmingham and Brighton churches are arranged not upon the advice of the liturgiologists but against that advice. They do not consist of Prayer Book *plus* the ornaments of the "Ornaments Rubric" and the ceremonial of the older Anglican uses, but of the Roman rite of to-day, more or less mixed with survivals of Prayer Book text, and with ornaments and ceremonial in studied conformity with modern Roman requirements. If this process goes on, we shall find that piecemeal concessions to "what the E.C.U. men desire" are altogether futile. Needless to say there is here no intention of reviving the old "no-Popery" cry. Yet nothing but an entirely new and non-Roman orientation of liturgical ideals will save our freedom.

Hitherto many have refrained from saying all they knew lest they should seem to favour the bitter Protestantism and limited insularity of outlook which produced the 19th century persecution and imprisonment of the contemporary leaders of Catholic thought in the Church of England. But it is impossible to be silent, when the appeal to Rome has been gradually substituted for the former appeal to the Book of Common Prayer and the Church universal; when it is no longer, or not

only, the Protestantism, but the Romanism of the Church of England that threatens to become a difficulty between ourselves and Eastern Christendom. The old-fashioned Protestantism of the days of the "ritual" persecutions is a dying force. But the point of view which leads to the substituting of the Roman missal for the Prayer Book seems much alive. It is this, and the reaction it produces, which threaten to prevent our making the best of Prayer Book revision.

It is for these reasons that it has been thought desirable to examine the Roman liturgical claims very carefully in the following pages, so as to see if there is any way of liberating the Church of England from what great numbers of men on the Catholic side regard as a danger to sound and free development. It is believed by many that the appeal to Roman authority, now evident in important things, began in comparatively trifling matters of ceremonial. Just because these were in themselves unimportant, little attempt was made to check or regulate them. What with the Low Church view that nearly all these developments are illegal, and the "moderate" view, so often taken hitherto by bishops, that they are trifling and negligible, there has been neither control nor regulation. And a well-organised system of ceremonial based upon Roman authority, altogether at variance with the teaching of our English liturgiologists, has been allowed to grow up and form a powerful instrument for fostering the principle of looking on the Roman rite as the liturgical ideal.

The writer is convinced that concurrently with Prayer Book revision it will be vital to secure some regulation of ceremonial, or the revision may well become futile. This question will have to be faced sooner or later, and

the longer a settlement is postponed, the more difficult it will be to effect.

A very real and lasting settlement is not beyond possibility. But each school of thought in the Church must contribute something to it. And in each case it must be a real, lasting and solid contribution that costs something. An outline of the contributions from all quarters which in the firm conviction of many would bring such a settlement within sight is here added.

(1) All parties in the Church will take the whole question much more seriously and learn more about liturgies and their history: they will give up any remnants of mere contempt for liturgiology.

(2) The Low Churchmen will give up their old attitude of expecting to maintain the *status quo*, or any dream of reimposing Puritanism all round, of enforcing the 19th century Privy Council legislation or even of securing a dead level of merely "moderate" practice.

(3) Broad Churchmen will realise that liturgies form an expression of the mind of Christendom in a region they have seldom if ever troubled to explore.

(4) High Churchmen will abandon the position of expecting everyone to level up to the full requirements of the Prayer Book and the Ornaments Rubric as interpreted by the Tractarians.

(5) Last but not least the definitely Roman section of the High Church party will be content with approaching the question of Roman reunion on the basis of an English uniat rite with the appropriate English ceremonial, and not on their present line of gradual assimilation to Roman usage. This policy of appealing to an exclusively Roman authority, which has developed out of an appeal to Roman use in ceremonial in the first instance, has done more

than anything to prevent a settlement, and it cannot remain.

(6) On the other hand the strict liturgical men on the High Church side who have struggled to maintain the appeal to sound learning in these matters as against Romanising, indifference, or Puritanism in turn, will have to concede to churches that actually possess them some arrangement allowing them the use of many existing foreign or undesirable ornaments which scholars would not regard as part of legitimate English tradition.

It is upon some such lines as these that a settlement could be reached, and one day must be reached. No mere "centre party" or "official" compromise avoiding all difficulties will be a stable settlement. There can be no settlement on narrow Protestant lines, though room must be made for the Puritan. Above all there can be no real settlement on lines which leave the Roman question unfaced: there can be no real freedom for the Church of England which allows the Romaniser liberty to bind her—however gradually—with the fetters of ultramontane uniformity. The Church of England must be at least as free to legislate for herself in matters of public worship now as she was before the Reformation. Some will say this is a grotesque claim, but only those who do not realise the ideals, methods and propaganda of the group who would bring our services into conformity with those of the Roman Church in this country[1].

[1] It is not generally realised that under the plea of "coming into line" or "following Western use" or "conforming to the Western Patriarchate" some of our ultramontane Anglo-Catholic clergy have recently abolished vestments, ornaments and ceremonial as "merely English" or "Sarum" or "insular" or "antiquarian" such as are still actually in use within the limits of the Roman communion on the Continent, on the ground that they are not in accord with strict Roman practice at Rome or in

If the Church of England is to appeal to the best thought of to-day, all she does must bear full investigation: there must be no obscurantism. She alone in all Christendom can stretch out hands to both sides. She is the only link between the churches of the Reformation and the older tradition of Catholicism[1]. She is at once the child of the new learning and the inheritor of the early and Middle Ages. She is the only link between Western thought and the Holy Orthodox Church of the East. She loses all, once she surrenders either to Protestantism or Romanism. She has been taunted with being an impossible blend of both, merely held together by the State. And that is true, if there be no *tertium quid*, no middle term. That there is such a third position is borne witness to by the Orthodox Eastern Church. If Anglicanism holds the key to the future in practice, the East holds it in theory. The Anglican Churches hold the Orthodox Eastern position in the West, *mutatis mutandis*. The great oriental theologian Khomiakoff—a layman like many Eastern theologians—quotes a Russian Synod as laying down that:

The Pope is greatly mistaken in supposing that we consider the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy to be the guardian of the dogma (of the Church). The case is quite different. The unvarying constancy and the unerring truth of Christian dogma does not depend upon any Hierarchical Order: it is guarded by the totality, by the whole people of the Church, which is the Body of Christ....

Roman Catholic churches here. Nor is it realised that willingness to keep ceremonial fairly simple often accompanies a determination to do nothing which is not in correct accord with Roman usage as far as it goes.

[1] Roman Catholics deny that she is in any sense such a link. But if she is not, who is? Many other non-Anglicans believe that she is.

No Hierarchical Order nor Supremacy is to be considered as a guarantee of truth. The knowledge of truth is given to mutual love.

He goes on to explain that

It would be difficult to wish for explanations more positive and more clear. The gift of truth is strictly separated from the hierarchical functions (viz. from Sacramental and Disciplinarian power), and the essential distinction from the Roman notion is thus established; the gift of unvarying knowledge (which is nothing but faith) is attributed, not to individuals, but to the totality of the ecclesiastical body, and is considered as a corollary of the moral principle of mutual love.

Here is a position which is neither "Protestant" nor "Catholic" in the sense in which the man in the street uses these words; but combines something of both. It appeals irresistibly to the modern outlook. Yet it is the official voice of the Holy Orthodox Church, the nearest representative of undivided Christendom. If this represents also what the Church of England stands for, the expression of her worship must be on parallel lines.

It is by finding out where those lines are that sound liturgical learning will solve the problem of Prayer Book revision and will thus contribute to the reunion of Christendom.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS OUR AUTHORITY IN LITURGICAL QUESTIONS?

By far the most serious question that arises in connection with Prayer Book revision is provided by the definitely Roman development, which began many years ago in the choice of Roman *versus* English ceremonial, and through a long and varied process of addition and substitution, partly secret partly open, has lately culminated in the use of the Roman missal instead of the Prayer Book in some of our churches.

The English Church Union revision proposals have been widely advertised as providing a settlement of this difficulty. We are told that if they were carried they would satisfy practically all the so-called extreme Anglo-Catholics. If their adoption would end the lamentable state of liturgical chaos now so notorious they would indeed deserve careful consideration. How would they end it? What desire do they satisfy? On what principle are they compiled?

Briefly, they rearrange the Prayer Book service to a considerable extent on the model of the Roman rite, supplementing it with minor features drawn from it. The actual borrowing is small in amount: the disturbance of the Prayer Book text is slight. The new rubrics are few. But the net result is to provide a rite which, if carried out with Roman ceremonial, will be practically indistinguishable from it in appearance and would carry us a long way towards its ultimate adoption. English

liturgical authority would be brought considerably into line with Roman[1], and therefore it could be obeyed. Without the ceremonial, the rite need not contain anything to offend greatly the bulk of our people. With the ceremonial, it would satisfy those who now use, or almost use, the Roman missal.

This is the gravest issue before us. We must therefore examine the whole question of authority in such matters, and besides investigating the textual emendations proposed, must also examine the subject of ceremonial and its possible regulation.

We note that both in rite and in ceremony among many Anglo-Catholics there has been a definite assimilation to Roman practice, and we are asked to do something to satisfy those who hold these ideals. We are told that if we do this by the adoption of the E.C.U. proposals, the Prayer Book rite so revised would be accepted by the so-called "extreme" men. They say they would obey it if it becomes law. Why? Because it will be "Catholic" in their eyes, or at least as "Catholic" a rite as they dare hope to get.

But on a previous occasion each of them made a solemn promise to obey the Book of Common Prayer. They are told by liturgical scholars that the Prayer Book rite, though not ideal, is sufficiently Catholic. Yet they have consistently rejected this advice by breaking up the Prayer Book rite and assimilating it to the Roman, at least in ceremonial if not in text. Now if they are prepared to obey a Romanised rite, it will not be because the Church of England adopts it, but because it is, or can be made by ceremonial, sufficiently

[1] Roman in the liturgical sense, as opposed to mediaeval English or Eastern or Gallican, not Roman in the popular sense.

Roman. Obedience to English authority therefore becomes conditional on that authority being brought sufficiently into line with that of Rome.

The whole question is at bottom one of authority and as such it must be examined.

We are coming to a time when many familiar preconceived ideas will have to be revised. Among these is the notion that the Sacramental or Catholic view of religion, with its external expression in worship, is necessarily Roman, or incompatible with a reasonable degree of nationalism or freedom.

The accusation of "Romanising in the Church of England" is as old as the days of St Wilfrid in one form or another. More particularly of course it goes back to the Reformation period. But as a serious party cry in our own day it has accompanied the Oxford Movement from the beginning.

It is important at the outset to be perfectly plain as to what is meant here by Romanising. It must be made clear beyond all doubt that that which follows is written from what is generally called the "Catholic" as opposed to the "Protestant" view of the Church. There is no attempt here to write on the lines of Walsh's *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, nor is this a milder protest based on the so-called moderate Anglicanism of the ordinary church-goer. Real vitality has largely left both these points of view. The future lies either with a liberalised Protestantism with very little of the old Protestantism in it, or with some form of what is commonly called Catholicism, and a broad and not a narrow form of it. More probably the Christianity of the future will combine what is good in all forms, and this means that it really will be Catholic in all the great

essentials. But this is not the place to speculate upon the future of the Church as a whole, and it is possible to hold the non-Papal view of Christianity as firmly as any Western Protestant or Eastern Orthodox Christian, without wishing to attack the Roman Catholic Church. The present concern is with the Anglican Churches alone.

Roughly speaking, there are three views of the Church held by four principal sections of Christians. There is first the Papal view, held (with slight modifications) by those of the Roman obedience, according to which all authority ultimately rests with the papacy. There is, secondly, the old Protestant view, according to which the ultimate authority is Scripture. There is, thirdly, the view held by Anglicans in the West and by the Orthodox in the East, that the ultimate authority is the Church herself, the whole body of Christ, speaking through a General Council, ratified by subsequent general acceptance. It is necessary to glance at the Gallican view held by certain French and other Continental scholars in the 17th and 18th centuries and even later, which modifies the Roman view in the conciliar direction by making the Pope the mouthpiece of the Episcopate. And it is also necessary to point out that modern Protestantism tends to desert the supremacy of Scripture for the supremacy of the individual conscience as illuminated by the spirit of Christ. This is a change which must lead either to a chaotic individualism, or else to some theory of community of enlightened expression very near to the Anglican and Eastern, or, as we might well call it, the Catholic, view. These definitions, be it remembered, are only outlined in the roughest of terms, and are open to the charge of inadequacy.

Amid the divisions of Christendom and among many

theories of the Church, the unity of the Roman obedience and the logical simplicity of the Roman system have a peculiarly striking appeal. The vast size of the Roman Church, her power as an international force, the Christian witness of her saints and of millions of her faithful, the definiteness of her theological system, which can answer in what appears a reasonable way well-nigh every question; all these are a force that one dare not underrate. And they are a force that attracts many thoughtful as well as unthoughtful minds all the world over. Yet the Christian witness against the Roman claims is another vast force. The traditionalism of the East, and the intellectualism and free enquiry of the West here join hand in hand; we know what Protestants, or Western non-Romanists, have suffered sooner than acknowledge the papacy in the past, and we also know the loss from Rome on the Continent in recent years, a loss which we freely admit is also in the main a loss to Christianity. And Christian opposition to Roman claims has had its martyrs in the East as well as in the West. After all, the Orthodox Eastern Churches, with their more than a hundred million members, still remain the strongest witness against papalism.

Space forbids discussion of the growth of the papacy, the increase of its claims and all those causes which produced the Reformation. But it is enough to say that no student of the Christian Church can get away from some consideration of the Roman claims, and if he is sincere he must either accept or reject them. If he accepts them, he must do so *ex anima* and submit himself to the authority of the see of Rome on the conditions which that see lays down. If he rejects them, he must either accept the Anglican or the Eastern views of the

Catholic Church—they are not widely different—or else he must adopt one or other of the numerous varieties of the older or newer views which for convenience we call Protestant. That is to say, he must hold a view of the Church which does not confine or limit Christ's Holy Catholic Church to the Roman obedience. Now this does not necessarily mean that he must be what is commonly called a Protestant. We have to remember that what is generally looked on as Catholicism, or the view of the Church as a corporate society and of religion as sacramental, has existed and still exists apart from the papacy. It exists in the Orthodox Eastern Churches to-day. It has existed among Christians in communion with Rome whose views of the papacy have been very unlike those held there now. It exists in the Church of England and other churches in communion with her.

If, therefore, anyone rejects the papal claims, and consequently cannot become a Roman Catholic, but believes in the Catholic view of Christianity, it remains that he must be an Anglican if he be not an Oriental Christian. He cannot be both Anglican and Roman. If, while rejecting Rome, he does not reject all idea of the Catholic Church, he must find the Catholic Church somewhere, and with the Catholic Church he must find authority, and finding authority he must loyally accept it. But this is not to say that an Anglican merely substitutes the Church of England for the Church of Rome as the Catholic Church. There is a great difference. The Church of Rome (or rather the churches which form the Roman obedience) claims to be the whole Catholic Church. The Church of England (or rather the churches forming the Anglican communion) does nothing of the kind. She regards the divisions of Christendom from a

different standpoint, and from what most of us will regard as the wider standpoint. She does not claim to be the whole Church; she is separated from Rome because she cannot accept Rome's claims; she is separated from the East through no fault of her own. She only claims to be a part of the Catholic Church, and she looks forward to a time when the Church will be one and undivided.

What then is the nature of the authority recognised by those who hold the Catholic view of the Church, but reject the papacy? It is primarily of course the authority of the whole body. Hence to the Eastern, whose theory of the Church limits it to those churches that did not fall away with the papacy, Church authority is the authority of all the Orthodox Eastern churches; this is compatible with the autonomy of the national churches such as those of Greece or Serbia. The Anglican does not confine the whole Catholic Church to those churches in communion with Canterbury: therefore to him there is admittedly a defect as regards the ultimate source of authority owing to the disunited state of Christendom. Like the Eastern, he blames the papacy for the present defective condition of Christianity in this respect, and in so far as the papacy has sought an improper overlordship, he rejects it and all its works as uncatholic, as no part of the genuine Catholic tradition. In consequence he lays great stress on the beliefs and practices of these Westerns who, while remaining in communion with historic Christianity, have been more or less free from papal influence. Therefore to him the standpoint of the Gallicans, for example, means a very great deal. And that of the Eastern churches means immeasurably more. But chiefly the Anglican is bound to appeal upon

fundamentals to these things that were believed and done before the increase of papal power was the final cause of the great schism. This is very nearly the Eastern appeal to the Seven General Councils. Yet because the Anglican also believes that the Anglican churches are parts of the whole Catholic Church, he cannot ignore their witness to the truth, but must regard Anglican authority as binding unless demonstrably proved to be wrong. Certainly this theory of Church authority is less simple than that of the Roman Church, or that of the Eastern Church, inasmuch as it lacks their clear self-sufficiency. But lack of clearness or simplicity is not necessarily lack of truth. The divisions of Christendom are manifest. Here and now we cannot conceive of Catholic authority, except

(*a*) in terms of the Roman or Eastern "clear cut" which ignores a great part of Christendom, or else

(*b*) in terms of a theory which recognises division as a fact, and a consequent impairment of authority as a resultant evil.

He therefore who rejects Rome must accept a less simple theory of Church authority[1]. But at the same time he accepts a wider theory, and one that allows a secondary or subordinate authority for certain purposes, of which Rome now knows little or nothing. This secondary authority is that of the national or local part of the Church. Because that part is part of the whole Divine organism, its authority must be assumed to be

[1] It would really seem as if those Anglicans who feel the attraction of the Roman theory so strongly ought to submit to Roman authority on essentials, even at the cost of certain minor difficulties. If they did so, it would probably be better for themselves, better for the Anglican Churches and better for the Roman Church.

sufficient in all ordinary cases. But because it is only a part, therefore its authority is not without a final appeal. Until Christendom is one, that final appeal has the handicap of the more difficult conception of primary Catholic authority outlined above.

The Catholic appeal therefore, as understood by Anglicans, involves an appeal to the whole of the rest of the Church *minus* the papacy and all that belongs to it and has grown up with it. It also involves an appeal in all ordinary cases to Anglican authority. That authority must be shown to be demonstrably in the wrong on these Catholic principles before it can be questioned. It is no use trying to find a short cut by an appeal to Rome (so be it not on the one question of the papacy). It is no use saying that such and such Anglican bishops are in the wrong upon A, therefore they are not to be trusted upon B. First be it remembered that the question B must be judged on its merits. If there be doubt, by all means apply the Catholic test. It is no use applying a Roman test, because (if we have any right to be where we are) the Roman Church is wrong on the papacy, and therefore, according to this reasoning, of doubtful authority upon other things. So that unless we accept the papal claims, we are bound to bring all Roman teaching as well as Anglican teaching to the same rather remote bar of real Catholicity.

No doubt impatience with the difficulties inherent in the Anglican position has driven some Anglo-Catholics to substitute a large measure of the Roman theory without realising all its implications. The appeal to Rome is simple—so long as it is made without reservation. And no Anglican can make it in this, the only possible way, and still remain an Anglican.

To-day we feel the strain of an impossible position. The so-called Catholic party in the Church of England is really no longer one party. It is divided by a deep and fundamental cleavage upon this essential matter of authority. True, this division is not yet clearly recognised. The recent Anglo-Catholic congresses[1] have shown that it is still possible to "close up the ranks of Catholics" by emphasising agreement upon certain other essentials, many in number and great in importance, but some of which are also held in common by Evangelicals. Yet this question of authority remains in the background and is bound to make a cleavage sooner or later. Agreement on other things may be used to postpone the day of reckoning, but only for a time. Long years of opposition to various forms of Protestantism and Latitudinarianism have helped to obscure the issue and to prevent people realising its existence. But the plain fact remains, and becomes plainer every day, that two mutually exclusive theories are now held by those Anglicans who use the name of Catholic. One is the Roman idea of the Church (with necessary reservations on the papacy and our ordinal). The other is what might be called the old Anglican Catholicism, analogous to, but not identical with, the Eastern theory of the Church. That both are "Catholic" in a loose sense as opposed to "Protestant" does not mean that they are not fundamentally different.

The difference is increasingly manifest. On the one

[1] The Anglo-Catholic Congress Movement has secured plenty of speakers and much support from weighty and moderate opinion. But its real effectiveness has been said to be in its accompaniments—the carefully staged services, the hymns, the "side shows" and the assiduous lobbying, all arranged so as to draw men in the Romanising direction.

hand we find people looking to Rome for everything, reading Roman books, teaching Roman doctrine, distributing Roman popular literature, gradually discarding the Prayer Book for the Roman service books, assimilating ceremonial and the arrangement of churches to the modern Roman model, and imitating Roman Catholics in all sorts of absurd trifles. This involves a complete breach with most of our traditions. And it takes us further from the Eastern churches. This school of thought does not even stop to enquire into the limits of disciplinary liturgical variation accepted by the Roman authority in Latin Europe, but takes without question the ultramontane standpoint and asks for exactly what is said and done, allowed and customary in the secular churches of the Roman obedience in this country. The one exception appears to be the papal decision on Anglican ordinations. For Christians of other kinds our ultramontanes seem to have little interest, except in so far as they are likely to fall in with this scheme of things. The Eastern churches are viewed somewhat as Roman Catholics view the Uniats, and the few who are interested in them appear to hope that the Orthodox will ultimately become in some way reconciled to Rome by contact with a Romanised Anglicanism. In short, the ideal of a reunited Christendom is exactly that of Rome, with (presumably) the recognition of Anglican orders and perhaps some slight abridgment of the papal power, Rome being still the supreme authority, and Rome something more than the mere centre of unity.

We cannot be blind to the fact that the ultramontane outlook is on the increase among us. If the strict Roman theory of the Church is not held, and is even disclaimed, it is acted upon in most things—except of course the

papacy and our orders. We do not take too seriously the kind of young person, whether in holy orders or not, who refers to a married priest as one who "keeps a woman" or who speaks of the Eastern Church as "the oriental schismatics" or who teaches the doctrine of indulgences or tells people not to receive communion from the chalice. But the Society of St Peter and St Paul, now, we believe, the official publishers to the Anglo-Catholic Congress Movement, recently published a tract in favour of indulgences, and a great deal of the literature they produce is thoroughly Roman and belongs definitely to the thought of the counter-Reformation, and of the ultramontanes. At least it is, broadly speaking, such as would be approved by Roman authority to-day. And the extremists would not exist at all were there not others who are wiser, but whose theological outlook is Roman at bottom. We believe this attitude, coupled as it often is by a peculiar flippancy about serious things, is largely due to the unconscious fear of having to face intellectually what may prove to be an untenable position. But there is little doubt that a generation of priests is growing up whose ideal seems to be the somewhat mechanical conception of the office common in the Roman communion. The old ideal of sound learning and theological scholarship is giving place to mere professional "efficiency" along certain very narrow lines. This comes out in the literature read, produced and recommended. The old Anglo-Catholic priest generally knew some theology first-hand, and could read some Latin and Greek, even if he read rather narrowly. His modern successor seems to rely on endless little books such as are sold for a few pence to the laity at the doors of churches.

On the other hand, the non-Roman school of Anglican Catholics is profoundly critical of Roman doctrine and discipline. Subtracting the papacy and all its connections, they would bring not only Anglican, but also Roman teaching to the test of the undivided Church. They have a deep respect for the outlook of the East and also for that of the theologians of the Anglican communion. They accept the authority of the Anglican standards and service books even when desiring alterations in them. They accept the rulings of Anglican authority, save in the few cases where manifestly incompatible with the wider Catholic appeal. They cannot visualise the reunion of Christendom upon the papal basis at present, however modified in detail, and they look for a federal union upon the lines of the Eastern Orthodox churches. Their instinct would be to turn first to the East without any great regard for Rome, and to leave the Roman question for the future. Many among them would go further in the "modern" or "liberal" direction than those on the "Roman" side, and many have much more sympathy for Evangelicals and Nonconformists, without being what are popularly called broad or low churchmen. The absence of the Roman ideal of uniformity undoubtedly makes for a more tolerant attitude and divergence of view, and hence come the familiar accusations of "Modernism" or "Protestantism" or "mere Anglicanism" from the other side, which in its turn reacts more and more in the Romeward direction.

The one school of thought seems to depend entirely on the teaching and authority of the Roman Church, to such an extent that it is hard to believe that it can remain for very long out of communion with Rome,

while the other really does not even trend in the Roman direction, and is content to live and work for a reunited Christendom on other lines, believing in the special mission of Anglicanism as a vital contribution in thought and work to the Catholic Church of the future.

Upon liturgical questions the one school of thought has no other idea than to follow in everything the Roman rules of to-day, while the other still upholds the appeal to an English rite and generally also an English ceremonial, even if at times with considerable elaboration. At the same time the situation is complicated by the fact that a certain number of people of the latter type use more or less Roman ceremonial because they are accustomed to it, or have never studied the subject, or have succeeded to it, without realising the inevitable result of building up the appeal to Roman authority. While yet again, there are a very few men of distinctly Latin if not wholly Roman outlook, whom circumstances have placed in churches where the externals are upon English lines[1].

The seriousness of the situation is beyond all question, for the Roman school of thought is rapidly increasing in certain places, London, Birmingham and Brighton

[1] There has also been a tendency in some quarters which are certainly very Roman in essentials to suggest that Gothic or English forms of vestments and altars should be allowed in certain churches. This may be paralleled, if it was not actually suggested, by the point of view of men like Dr Adrian Fortescue in the Roman communion. If it is merely a screen for liberty to Latinise in essentials and to accommodate people who dislike Renaissance ornaments, it will not grow, and may be disregarded. But if it were to develop into an attitude of freedom from the appeal to Roman authority, it may be the germ of a healthier state of things. All depends on the view taken of authority—whether the intention is to countenance non-Roman ceremonial, or merely Gothic vestments and altars so far as not actually contrary to the decrees of Roman authority.

among them. All who do not look upon the Roman Church and her system as the Christian ideal must obviously be troubled beyond measure at what they cannot help regarding as a grave danger. For to most Anglicans "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" seems hopelessly incompatible with the centralised autocracy that has developed at Rome.

Many who in recent years have felt the gravity of an autocratic and militarist menace to the liberty of the world do not believe the reunion of Christendom can be reached so long as the imperial idea, the long-lived survival of the Roman Empire, still lives on in the papacy. The modern world demands freedom before everything, and non-papal Christians believe freedom from any centralised government, such as that of the Roman *curia*, to be an essential of a reunited Christendom. If the words of the great Russian theologian Khomiakoff, already quoted on pp. 12 and 13, be true, then there is a Catholicism which is free, in what one may dare to call the modern sense.

While the Latinising of the Catholic party in the Church of England goes on, there is growing up an interest in Catholicism outside it. Erstwhile Protestants and broad churchmen are becoming more or less Catholic, albeit in streaks and patches. There are liberal Evangelicals who are learning a new and corporate view of the Church. There are broad churchmen who are turning from the sterile bitterness of some of their Victorian progenitors and adopting a more sacramental outlook. It is all converging in the direction of Catholicism. But a Catholicism which is first and last not Roman, though not, be it noted, nearly so hostile to the Roman Catholics themselves as were many of the later

Tractarians. There is also the slow and steady trend in the Catholic direction in what may be called the moderate and official element in the Church. Not least there is the remnant in the Catholic party who will have none of the Romanising. These men are finding their position more and more difficult[1]. The hopeful side of the situation is the growing possibility of a coalescing in the future of all these elements on a basis of mutual agreement which would unite the bulk of the sanest and most weighty and intellectual forces in the Church of England.

If this hope attracts us—if it embodies our ideal—we cannot accept a Romanised Prayer Book.

To treat the Roman rite as the model liturgy, or to desire the spread of its use, is to submit to what has been one of the most powerful instruments whereby the papal rule over the Church has been increased. For any who are not bound to use it, to desire to do so is only intelligible if they are prepared to accept the papal authority in its most extreme form.

If we do not accept this, and with it the Roman claims, we are thrown back in liturgical matters to an altogether different conception of authority, viz. that of the whole Church. But we find at once that the whole Church presents us with unity of faith shown forth in diversity of rite. There is no universal or Catholic liturgy. Rome acknowledges this, and permits and actually maintains the existence of other rites, especially in the Eastern churches in communion with the papacy.

The appeal to the common sense of Christendom sends us to the diocese or group of dioceses for our authority

[1] One now comes across people who, instead of seeking out the "Catholic" church in a strange place, will attend some other church rather than go to one of the Romanised character.

as to the liturgy. So that the Catholic appeal leads to the English Church as our authority in liturgical matters in England—in other words to the Book of Common Prayer—"the form contained in the said book and none other except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." Now while "lawful authority" here might conceivably mean the Church Universal in theory, it cannot possibly mean the Roman Church, or any other church for that matter, but only the lawful authority operative in English dioceses.

Much of what has just been pointed out would no doubt be accepted as common ground by a large section of those who have been gradually Romanising our services. They would say that much of this assimilation to Rome has been in ceremonial, and that the English Church has made no order as to that. Of this more will be said later. They would go on to say that the authority of the existing order of the Church of England is not in question in Prayer Book revision, but that discussion is concerned with getting the best possible revised rite for authorisation by the English authorities. But in the very principle of revision we cannot escape from the ideal of authority. For it is suggested again and again by the E.C.U. proposals, though not in so many words, that we turn to the Roman rite. Why? Not assuredly on its merits on liturgical grounds. The appeal to us to assimilate the rite to the Roman is made upon authoritarian grounds in the last resort. No doubt a large number of the clergy merely want what they have been accustomed to use. But here again: why have they used it? Once more we shall find that Rome has been looked upon as the authority, even if only in the sense of providing what is convenient and safe.

Suppose the Church of England adopted some such semi-Roman rite as that in the "Green Book," what is the future reaction as regards authority? Notwithstanding the apparent harmlessness of the additions, and the large amount of Prayer Book text retained, the scheme includes a definite approximation to the Roman rite. It is so arranged that clothed with Roman ceremonial it would be scarcely distinguishable from the Roman service. Its audibility would be gradually toned down; under the guise of an Anglo-Catholic rite, our liturgical development would be guided along lines neither Catholic nor English, but Roman. Under the shelter of conciliatory moderation the familiar words of the Prayer Book would be so arranged as to form the natural setting for that system of Romanised ceremonial which has been the despair of our best scholars. The appeal to Rome in liturgical matters would be riveted upon us, and official sanction claimed for it. The Church of England by her own act would have enabled a section of her clergy gradually to substitute another authority for her own. The transition to the Roman rite itself would be easy, and in a few years' time hard to resist—and all without bringing us a step nearer reunion with the Roman Church.

We have the experience of the last quarter of a century to guide us. Years ago liturgiologists warned us that the adoption of such small and even trivial accessories as the Roman cotta, the Italian biretta, the row of six lights, the altar tabernacle, altar cards and the ceremonial actions of the *Ritus servandus* as mere adjuncts to the Prayer Book service, could not stop there. With the knowledge of the ultramontane movement on the Continent, they foretold that the appeal to Rome and

the contempt for English tradition once begun could not stop short of the whole Roman rite. Events have proved that this forecast was true. So it will be with Prayer Book revision unless the Church of England speedily makes up her mind to retain her freedom. This she can only do if she resists being drawn into the vortex of the ultramontane movement.

Now quite obviously no one but a Roman Catholic can accept the word "Roman" as synonymous with "Catholic."[1] Upon the principles outlined above we can revise and enrich the Prayer Book in a Catholic direction without reference to the Roman rite of to-day. The vast liturgical treasury of the Church lies ready to our hands. These are the Eastern rites, the non-Roman Western rites, and for certain purposes what may be called the non-Roman rites of the Roman family, or the mediaeval uses, such as our own Sarum use, and there are also the reformed Gallican service books, products of deep learning in comparatively recent times, only crushed by similar Romanising forces to those which now threaten the Church of England.

The official revision proposals of the National Assembly may well be criticised on liturgical grounds. They owe their weaknesses to the desire to conciliate people who are frightened of anything which they think is Roman, but whose lack of liturgical knowledge is

[1] The bishops are not free from blame in this even now. Some of them do not seem to realise the two very different standpoints in the so-called Catholic party. Where "high churchmen" are concerned some of them still seem to think only in the terms of "moderate" or "extreme," and where ceremonial is concerned they can only see more or less of it: they do not distinguish between English and Roman, and in their superiority to what they look upon as matters of detail, they fail to diagnose and to treat the difference in theory which lies behind.

profound. The fact is that in the Church of England liturgiology has been mixed up in the popular mind with all that the term "ritualism" conveys. It has become associated, not so much with scholarship as with "spikes," and less with prayers than with ceremonies, and those ceremonies more or less Roman and often undesirable. The result has been that the mind of the Church universal has been ignored, the great witness of Christian teaching on forms of worship unheard and unheeded. The liturgiologist has been passed over and despised, and the unlearned in these things have been at the mercy—to quote the severe words of a great scholar—of the charlatan and the impostor. The great importance of liturgiology as a branch of theological science has been forgotten, thanks largely to the ritualistic server, and the "ecclesiastically minded layman," whose conversation on matters concerned with public worship has too often been calculated to provoke that unfortunate contempt for liturgical study which has tended to grow up in minds otherwise broad and open to the truth.

We need above everything a movement towards reality in liturgical questions. Every one must realise that divine worship is a thing that matters very much. Liturgiology must come into its own, or in other words we must all learn. We must admit our ignorance and ask to know the truth. We must get at the facts, and not listen to superior people who sneer at liturgiologists, whether "modern churchmen" or "Anglo-Catholics." No one can claim to have the modern or scientific mind if he still thinks any part of theological science or church history unworthy of serious thought. And no one can claim to be called Catholic who is not prepared to learn

what the universal Church has really thought and done at all times and in all places. Those of us too who represent the party in the Church of England most definitely associated with opposition to Rome can scarcely fail to see that aloofness from study of Christian forms of prayer and their history has not prevented the growth of the very thing that is feared most. The bulk of Church of England people are profoundly afraid of the newest phase of Romeward activity. But it will not be met by any merely negative attitude. The only cure for it is sound learning along the lines where it is most needed, coupled with a humility that does not despise little things.

CHAPTER THREE

PRAYER BOOK REVISION: GENERAL POSSIBILITIES

WHAT are the constructive possibilities of Prayer Book revision as regards the order for Holy Communion[1]?

There is first of all the choice between one rite as at present, and more than one, as in Scotland, or as in the Eastern churches.

While there is much to be said for alternatives from the practical point of view, the balance in theory seems to be on the side of a single rite, if only because two or more rites might tend to accentuate those differences of party which have been a source of weakness to the Church of England. This however seems impracticable at present.

The writer must frankly reiterate what he has already said elsewhere about the Prayer Book never having had its chance. Thanks to the ignorant prejudices of Puritanism and the old slovenliness which was its legacy on the one hand, and the perverseness of the Anglo-Catholics testing it by the Roman appeal on the other hand, the best has not been made of the Prayer Book as it is. In how few churches, for example, do we find the Prayer Book rite carried out with full ceremonial in a straightforward way without either addition or omission. A very good result might be obtained by giving the existing rite a fair trial for ten years upon these lines with its

[1] Space makes it necessary to confine our attention to the Communion Service.

full ceremonial properly regulated on the lines suggested in chapter VI. The churches where this has been done are extraordinarily successful. We have only to look at Bognor during the time of the late vicar to see what could be made of the Prayer Book both with an elaborate and with a plain service. This is apart altogether from the question of additional collects, epistles and gospels, additional special prayers, and additional services to meet modern needs. For many years now the increasing Romanism in the High Church party has made the very worst that could be made of the Prayer Book Communion Service. There is far more to be said for it on strictly liturgical grounds than many people realise. It is possible truthfully to say all this without in any way minimising its great liturgical defects.

If, as seems likely, there are to be alternative rites, two things are clear, viz.:

(1) The Prayer Book rite as at present would be one of them, and

(2) The other, or another, might differ much more widely from it than would be possible in the case of a revised single rite.

We therefore consider first the possibilities which present themselves if an alternative rite is proposed. Here, of course, many things are possible, though by no means necessarily desirable or practicable.

(1) The first and obvious proposal is the official one of the National Assembly. In criticising it we are at once impressed with the enormous difficulty of producing something which has a chance of acceptance with all parties. When we realise the difficulties caused by that large mass of uninstructed churchmen who know nothing whatever of liturgical history but have

strong likes and dislikes, and yet do not realise their own ignorance and lack of reading, we cannot help being struck by the way in which the Committee has done its work. Detailed criticism will be found in the next chapter. The revision proposed is on the whole good, especially when we consider its origin. But it does not go far enough. The chief blemish is the consecration, which lacks an epiclesis.

(2) This defect is made good in the admirable canon proposed by what is known as the "Grey Book," whose draft rite in other respects is probably the most satisfactory form before us at the moment. If it be not accepted much as it stands, we are inclined to think that a satisfactory result would be reached by a version consisting of the official National Assembly rite printed in N.A. 84 but with the "Grey Book" canon. Here again fuller discussion is reserved.

(3) The English Church Union alternative rite, known colloquially as the "Green Book," is criticised in detail below, with the conclusion that it is a most undesirable move in the Roman direction. There is no doubt that many of its supporters do not in the least realise the extent to which this is the case.

We now come to possibilities which are not at present of the nature of practical proposals:

(4) The modern Roman rite. Enough has already been said to demonstrate the wrongness of this. For the Church of England to allow the use of the Roman rite would be madness; it would not really help relations with the Roman Church.

(5) The Sarum rite. This is on a different footing, for the simple reason that its authorisation would not involve an appeal to an alien authority. It might be worth

consideration if we could be sure that it would be seriously and honestly used by those whose present ideal is the Roman. The Sarum rite was no mere peculiarity of Salisbury; it was the characteristically English use, it overspread the whole kingdom; it was used extensively in the province of York, and in Wales; it was adopted throughout the mainland of Scotland, and it was even used in Ireland; in the case of one foundation it actually spread to Portugal. It has a great and splendid tradition; its system of collects, epistles and gospels is still largely perpetuated in the Prayer Book; the Church of England which used it once could bring it into use again without the semblance of an appeal to Rome. As the Sarum rite shares the canon and many other features with the Roman, its adoption would, on the face of it, go far to conciliate those who wish to use the Roman rite. But would it really? We advisedly write "on the face of it." For as already pointed out, the ultramontane party seem bent on Romanising, not so much from liturgical as from authoritarian motives. Moreover, the Sarum rite if authorised would have to be the Sarum rite, with the Sarum ceremonial and no other. The men who have deliberately abolished and destroyed this ceremonial in several of our churches recently, where it has long been the living use, are not likely to be satisfied with the authorisation of the rite to which it belongs[1]. On the other hand, considered upon its merits liturgically, the very features of Sarum which might seem as if they would conciliate the Latin-

[1] Sneers at anything Sarum or old English have long been encouraged and seem the rule among the younger men. Only the other day one said "I hate the Sarum rite." It is just the same as saying "I hate half the Prayer Book" or "I hate the old mediaeval churches."

isers are just those things which liturgical scholarship rejects for one set of reasons, and which moderate and evangelical feelings dislike for another. In view of the criticisms of Roman Catholic scholars alone—not to mention our own—upon the Gregorian canon of the mass, it would be reaction of the blindest kind to adopt it, even as part of the Sarum rite.

(6) A more thinkable proposition would be to adopt the Sarum rite and its ceremonies with another and a revised canon. This would give the Sarum ordinary of the mass to those who are familiar with a form of that type: they could have *Confiteor*, the ninefold *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* early in the service, the blessing of the deacon before the gospel, the unfixed creed, and certain prayers at the offertory, and before and after communion of a type more or less familiar to them. It is not contended that this would satisfy the real Romaniser, but there might be a considerable group who would accept it.

(7) But once the principles of no appeal to Rome and of a non-Roman canon are conceded, there seems no reason why we should be tied down to other features which were rejected long since, and which modern scholarship does not want. In that case the alternative rite might as well be that of 1549, or some other equally if not further removed from Sarum. Here we may do well to consider 1549. At one time there seemed to be a widespread demand for it. Now the demand seems less. Not long since there were more or less Romanising people who cried out against our learned men when they appealed to anything ancient, as "British Museum" and "antiquarian," but who were prepared to revive this obsolete rite, which only lived for a brief four years and can scarcely have even reached every church in the

land. It may be that some of them have realised that there is a rubric in the canon forbidding the elevation of the host. An attractive feature of 1549 to this type of mind was no doubt the rubric for the mixing of the chalice at the time of the offertory, and probably it was thought that the existence of the epiclesis would satisfy the very great demand for one, while the position before the words of our Lord would still enable the latter to be treated as the consecratory "form." It is doubtful if much space need be devoted to 1549, as its place in propaganda seems to have been taken by the E.C.U. proposals. It may however be pointed out that there is no *Confiteor* in 1549 and no last gospel. From the point of view of the liturgical student the 1549 ordinary is almost as bare as that of the present Prayer Book, and the canon shows very definite traces of the controversies of the time, upon which Roman Catholic controversialists have not been slow to seize. Perhaps the most illuminating comment on the undesirability of reviving the rite of 1549 is the outstanding fact that in subsequent revisions which that rite underwent, in Scotland and among the non-jurors, its most salient features were rejected. At the present day 1549 as an alternative would satisfy very few, notwithstanding a certain historic glamour that still surrounds the name.

It may be said that 1549 could not be adopted without some amount of revision. Its spelling would have to be modernised to make it intelligible, and no doubt some might wish for the omission of the rubric forbidding the elevation of the host. But once a rubric is altered, there is nothing to stop the alteration of other rubrics, and 1549 will become a mere substructure for the Roman ceremonial which must ultimately lead us to the

Roman rite. Moreover, we should be getting something of the nature of a revision of the 1549 rite, and then would arise the question of why this little-used and long-discarded liturgy should be selected to the exclusion of everything else. On the one hand it would be largely the work of Romanisers, on the other the refuge of the ecclesiastical politician. At bottom it would be merely a name.

It would be a standing disgrace to English liturgical scholarship to go back to 1549 behind the revisions of it which were produced by the learning of the non-jurors. Their work would be set on one side, not because of the advance of scholarship, but because of a party outcry made by people who want to be as Roman as possible, and therefore insist on going back behind the non-juring revisions, because they were in an Eastern and not a Roman direction.

Nothing is more illuminating than to turn to the writings of the non-jurors and compare them with those of the Anglo-Catholic party men of to-day. When the non-jurors revived the rite of 1549, it was the best Anglican liturgy known. Their reasons may all be read in the abundant tract literature of the day. One and all, the non-jurors based their action upon what is primitive and catholic. Later on, when they found more primitive and more catholic forms they did not hesitate to improve upon 1549.

(8) We now come to the Anglican rites which grew up in the 18th century, partly through the Scottish revival and revision of the 1549 rite, partly through the beginnings of scientific liturgical research which we owe to the non-jurors. First among them is the English non-jurors' liturgy of 1718, which may be described as

a canon on the lines of that in the liturgy in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions embedded in a revised Anglican ordinary. As a liturgy it is far superior to anything we have considered yet. It merits the closest scrutiny as a possible alternative, or as the basis of such an alternative. The same may be said of another non-juror's liturgy, that printed in 1748 by Dr Thomas Rattray, a very great scholar, sometime bishop of Dunkeld. This rite is more Eastern in character, and was used for a time here and there in Scotland. Another non-juring rite is that put forward in 1734 by Dr Thomas Deacon, a bishop of one section of the English non-jurors; this has considerable merits, but is far too lengthy for practical use.

(9) The Scottish Liturgy of the present day owes the arrangement of parts of the canon to the non-jurors' learning, which showed that the arrangement of 1549 was dislocated and not primitive. It underwent careful revision in 1911, with the result that its use has steadily increased ever since. It is probably the best liturgy in the English language now in use, with the possible exception of the South African, which is not unlike it. But it has the great intercession in an unfamiliar place, viz. after the consecration. Its adoption as an alternative rite in England would be wholly satisfactory from the liturgical point of view, though it would perhaps not be the best practical solution of the difficulty. Many of its own users would probably be sorry for it to lose its distinctiveness and interest as the Scottish rite, and to become a mere English alternative south of the Border. Anyone familiar with north of Scotland feeling will appreciate this.

(10) The South African rite is an alternative in its

own land and is very modern. It has not the long and romantic history behind it which makes it undesirable to transplant the Scottish, nor has it the Intercessions in the same unfamiliar place. It might well be adopted as an alternative in England.

(11) The American rite, very similar to the present English, but with a consecration prayer derived from the Scottish, is so generally like the English that it would need consideration rather as a possible substitute or revision for general use than as an alternative. Indeed, as we consider these modern Anglican rites, we are drawn to regard them almost more in this light than in the other.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRAYER BOOK REVISION: SOME PROPOSED SCHEMES CRITICISED

We now venture on a more detailed criticism of the two most vital and important schemes before the Church[1].

Broadly speaking, one salient feature emerges from a study of the E.C.U. proposals in the "Green Book." Whenever the compilers have gone beyond Anglican sources they have gone to the Roman rite of to-day and to that alone. The net result is a general approximation to it. True, care has been taken not to adopt features open to serious objection from, let us say, the Evangelical standpoint. But this revision is definitely Roman. Apart from such sources as the 1549 Prayer Book or the

[1] To save space the writer has said but little about the somewhat jejune official scheme of the National Assembly, generally referred to as N.A. 84. There is a most useful little book, published by the Alcuin Club in their series of Prayer Book Revision pamphlets, called *A Survey of the Proposals for the Alternative Prayer Book, part* 1. *The Order of Holy Communion* (Mowbray and Co.), sometimes known as the "Orange Book," in which N.A. 84 and the E.C.U. "Green Book" form are conflated into one long form with alternatives, annotated with a certain amount of valuable criticism, together with wise modifications of a few of the more unfortunate features of E.C.U. The reader is referred to this book as a good exposition of N.A. 84 and as an attempt to make the best of the E.C.U. "Green Book." The Alcuin Club writers amend the N.A. 84 canon by adding an epiclesis (the Canterbury Convocation form, 1920) in the proper place. They amend the E.C.U. canon by withdrawing the epiclesis from the improper place it occupies there, following the bad precedent of 1549. In the judgment of the present writer the complicated form thus provided in the "Orange Book" is simply "the best of a bad job" and inferior to that of the "Grey Book."

new South African Liturgy, no non-Roman sources have been utilised. The vast liturgical treasury of the Church universal has been ignored, whether non-Roman-Western, or Eastern. Even where Sarum forms could have been used, the corresponding modern Roman ones have been adopted.

A more unfortunate feature of the book is the lack of any statement of principle. The compilers have not stated that all their non-Anglican suggestions are in the Roman direction; that they have not revived any of the Sarum rite and that they have ignored everything Gallican or Oriental. No doubt if they had done this their proposals would not have had so favourable a reception as they appear to be receiving in quarters naturally suspicious of Romanising. It is true that there is much absurd prejudice against Rome which it might be undesirable to arouse, and that there is a great deal to be said for considering every suggestion on its merits. But a series of liturgical proposals has a cumulative effect. The history of Western Christendom shows us how the spread of the Roman rite has frozen out initiative and killed legitimate local variation. It is vital to our liturgical future to consider the effect of such approximation to the Roman rite. If the E.C.U. compilers believe this to be the right principle of liturgical development, they should have said so and faced the result.

The Service in Detail

The preparation

There is naturally an element of preparation at or near the beginning of all liturgies. This was very definitely the case with Western mediaeval rites. Eastern

services have a litany with the response "Lord have mercy" early in the rite (and also elsewhere). Western rites borrowed something similar from the East in the *Kyrie eleison* said or sung thrice or nine times since the 6th century, the Greek words being actually retained. Later on perhaps, about the 11th or 12th centuries, a form of mutual confession said by the celebrant and his ministers, in which the people also joined, made its appearance, borrowed from the choir services of prime and compline, and known from its first Latin word as *Confiteor*. Its wording varied in different diocesan uses: for example in the Dominican, Carthusian and Sarum rites the confession forms are shorter than in the Roman, the absolution slightly longer, and the psalm *Judica* is not said before the altar. Further, in the old rite of Coutances the priest turned to the people for the absolution, as in the Prayer Book form. The Prayer Book confession and absolution first appeared in 1548 as an adjunct to the Sarum rite, being included in what was called the Order of Communion. This was taken from a conservatively reformed service book produced at Cologne, and they have been part of every subsequent Anglican rite.

In the "Grey Book" the Preparation begins, as in the Prayer Book, with the Lord's Prayer and the collect "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts" etc., taken from the Sarum missal. Then, according to the "Grey Book," may be said the Summary of the Law and (or) a threefold Kyrie in English or Greek. The Summary is not an ancient feature, but it has the precedent of the Scottish Liturgy. Next, in the "Grey Book," comes a return to mediaeval use in the placing of the confession and absolution at the beginning of the service instead of

much later, as in the Prayer Book. The familiar Prayer Book form is itself transferred to this position. A form of mutual confession of the Latin type, very brief indeed, is given as an alternative for weekdays, but it is to be said kneeling, and the priest stands and turns to the people for the absolution, as in the Prayer Book and as we noted was the case at Coutances with the old Latin rite. The Comfortable Words, which only date from the 16th century, may here be added or omitted with either form.

In the "Green" or E.C.U. book, the Form of Preparation before Holy Communion is simply the Roman form with the names of the saints judiciously omitted from *Confiteor*. What reason, other than the desire to follow Roman practice, can be urged for adding a confession from another rite when we already have the familiar English form later in the service? No liturgical scholars have asked for this: most would deprecate the practice. If, however, this feature of the Latin rites must be adopted, why not use the Sarum form, where the psalm is not said before the altar and the confession is simpler? It would only be to turn outside the narrow circle of the Latin rites, and many more fruitful suggestions could be found for enriching the beginning of the service. We have only to go to the "Grey Book" to find this, including provision for the occasional use of a confession form of the Latin type instead of any other form.

The placing of the *Gloria in Excelsis* at the beginning of the service, though common to all Latin rites, is not on that account an improvement. Its present position gives the modern English rite a more striking and triumphant close than that of any other liturgy. It was

intended to be—and really is—a following of the precedent of the singing of a hymn before departure at the original institution of the Eucharist. Because it dates from 1552 in this position it does not follow that its place here is wrong. Here again the change desired is not one asked for by serious students but merely another piece of assimilation to the Latin rites. The confining its recitation to Sundays and Feast Days may be an improvement. Here one would like to know the exact rule to be adopted. Probably it would be better to order its omission in Lent and on other fast days. But this would not be exactly the Roman rule.

There is much to be said for using a revised text of the *Gloria*, as has long been done in Scotland. But none of the schemes attempt more than the omission of the redundant clause "Thou that takest away the sins of the world."

Both in the "Grey" and the "Green Books" and in N.A. 84 the mutual salutation is added before the collects, as in all the older Western rites—a desirable improvement.

The placing of the collect for the King before the collect of the day in the Prayer Book has long been regarded as one of the blemishes of the 1662 revision. All Western precedent in ordinary cases (save to an extent on the Ember days) places the most important collect first, as the keynote of the "proper" for the day. This is remedied in all the new schemes.

In the Prayer Book the rubrics before the Epistle and Gospel are so loosely worded as to seem at first sight to confine the reading of the Epistle and Gospel to the priest. Here in all three schemes the universal tradition of Christendom is clearly expressed; there is

nothing that even seems to prevent the Epistle being read by a reader or clerk, and the deacon is mentioned first as the normal reader of the Gospel. A psalm, anthem or hymn is indicated between the Epistle and Gospel in both "Grey" and "Green" Books. This is one of the most ancient and widespread places for singing known to the Church. Indeed, common sense really requires it between two Scripture readings, just as at Matins and Evensong, although in fairness to the Prayer Book we should remember that its absence at this point has the precedent of the Mozarabic rite.

In the "Green Book" the suggested omission of the familiar "Here endeth the Epistle" seems uncalled for, while the addition of "Praise be to thee, O Christ" afterwards, is a needless borrowing from the Roman rite of something not in the old English uses. Far better to have "Thanks be to thee, O Lord," long traditional in many churches. Or why not "Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for this thy glorious Gospel," as in Scotland?

It is proposed in the "Green Book" to confine the Nicene Creed to Sundays, Holy Days, and "other days at the discretion of the Minister." Having regard to the general character of the non-Anglican parts of this book, we are at a loss to understand the apparent freedom indicated in the last clause, unless on the supposition that the minister will supplement his discretion by the definite rules in the Roman missal[1]. The Anglican tradition of a fixed creed has the Western precedent of the Mozarabic mass in which it first appeared in the West,

[1] On p. 34 in the "Green Book" the need of brevity is urged as a reason for omitting the Creed and the *Gloria*. Yet as has been properly observed elsewhere, the E.C.U. compilers do not seem troubled about brevity where *Judica*, *Confiteor*, or the "Last Gospel" are concerned.

and the practice of all the East behind it. The writer would therefore incline towards its retention as a constant feature of the liturgy. But in all the Western rites of the Roman family the creed is variable[1], and is a festival feature. It is not one of the earliest parts of the service and is usually said to have only found its way into the Roman mass about 1014 at the wish of the Emperor, Henry II, who was used to it in Germany. In the East it was said in the liturgy perhaps as early as the 6th century. But the earliest use of creeds is baptismal and not eucharistic. The "Grey Book" proposes to make the creed variable and gives the conciliar form, in the plural, "We believe," as in many Eastern rites and as in the Mozarabic missal. The word "holy" as one of the notes of the Church has been very properly restored in all three revisions before us. Its omission in the Prayer Book text, however, is not due to carelessness or Protestantism, but to the belief held by 16th century scholars that it was not in the original text. This is now untenable and the replacement will have general agreement.

The Liturgy of the Faithful

The Offertory

It seems regrettable that both the "Grey Book" and the "Green Book" wish to invert the order in which the alms and the elements are placed on the altar. For practical convenience it is customary in many (but by no means all) places to collect the alms while the bread and wine are being set on the altar, and it is sometimes well-nigh unavoidable. But it seems unwise to authorise by rubric a departure from that venerable tradition

[1] At Sarum it was said on rather more occasions than at Rome.

which lays such great stress on the matter of the Eucharistic offering being identified with all the worshippers. The alms are the modern equivalent of the old offering of the bread and wine by each of the faithful.

The E.C.U. compilers wish to make the placing of the alms on the altar optional, apparently destroying another venerable North European custom. We remember how insistent the rubrics of the carefully reformed 18th century French missals are that the offering of the elements must come last, and we also recall the retention in our cathedrals of the Gallican, but not Roman, custom of the solemn individual offering of alms upon the altar itself by dignitaries.

Hitherto, in Anglican rites, save only in the Scottish, the great intercession, or prayer for the Church, follows the offertory immediately, where it occurs in the older Gallican rites and where several modern scholars believe it once was in the Roman. The E.C.U. compilers have accepted this existing piece of Gallicanism, which of course remains in the other schemes. The "Grey Book" has courageously altered the bidding to *Let us pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church of Christ,* thereby removing the curious clause "militant here in earth" and restoring the form originally written at the last revision in 1662. The word "pastors" after "bishops" in the "Grey Book" text of the prayer has the precedent of 1549.

As in N.A. 84 the Prayer of Humble Access is withdrawn in the "Grey Book" from its present position where it breaks the sequence of the most solemn part of the service, but instead of being placed as in N.A. 84 immediately before communion, is made a preliminary to the prayer of consecration. There is ample precedent

for a penitential form of this kind shortly before the beginning of the anaphora: an exact parallel may be found in the Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites (Brightman, *Lit. E. and W.*, p. 84).

The E.C.U. transfer the Prayer Book Confession, Absolution, etc. to a point after the Priest's Communion. This is, we are told on p. 38, "that which the corresponding devotions occupy, not only in the ancient Latin rite, but in the Western Vernacular rites based upon it, such as the English Prayer Book of 1549 and the Scottish Prayer Book." There is a grave error here. These forms printed *after* the Priest's Communion here occur not after but *before* it in 1549 and the Scottish rite. In both these rites the communion of the faithful follows closely upon that of the priest as one continuous act. In this E.C.U. book the intention appears to be to separate the Priest's Communion from that of the people by the interposition of these penitential forms, as in the Roman rite.

There is something to be said for the suggested rearrangement of the words of the Preface so as to read "holy Lord, Father Almighty, everlasting God." But it is by no means certain that the modern punctuation *Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, eterne deus* represents the only ancient version. Before us is a 16th century missal of a rite our reformers may have seen where the punctuation is *domine, sancte pater, omnipotens eterne deus.*

The Prayer of Consecration

In any reform of the Prayer of Consecration what is required is a bold attempt to break away from the traditions and prejudices of parties and to get back to the

practice of the early and undivided church. The Prayer Book appeals to this in principle, but the reformers of the 16th century had not sufficient scholarship to do it properly, and they could not shake themselves free of mediaeval teaching or the inevitable reaction from it. The result is that while more recent scholarship has produced better forms in Scotland, America and South Africa, the Church of England still uses a prayer of consecration which, although sufficient for its purpose, has been the subject of severe criticism from the learned for the last two hundred years.

We may look at the subject from several points of view.

(1) *Early history.* The Gospel accounts of the institution teach us that our Lord first blessed or gave thanks, then break the bread, then distributed to his disciples, saying "This is my Body," "This is my Blood." These words were therefore his words of *administration*, not his form of *consecration*, which is unrecorded. Probably he used a thanksgiving after a Jewish model, with a consecratory significance or even a new addition. Probably also the earliest Christians used something similar. But the whole Christian tradition has been one of *prayer*. As soon as we come to definite liturgical forms we find something of the nature of an invocation of the divine power, first of the Λόγος, then, as the doctrine of the person and work of the Holy Spirit becomes more clearly defined, of the Holy Spirit. How far such an invocation represents the earliest tradition of all is not known; some think it is an element which was there from the first, others that it grew up somewhat later. Be this as it may, from the time we get fully developed liturgies, we find such a prayer in them all, and we find

it as the climax—if we may use such a word—of the sacred action.

It is the most significant feature of the "Grey Book" that the compilers have not hesitated to introduce a definite invocation in the normal position.

(2) *The Liturgical tradition.* The normal Christian Liturgy has a prayer of consecration which is prefaced by a salutation with some such bidding as "Lift up your hearts" followed by an outburst of praise to God for what He is and what He has done for man, with a reference to the angels and the great hymn "Holy, Holy, Holy." This leads on to a thanksgiving for the redemptive work of our Lord which culminates in a reference to the passion, including an account of the institution of the Eucharist in which are recited the words "This is my Body," "This is my Blood" as our Lord's own definition of the gift and as our authority for repeating the sacred action. Then comes a solemn memorial—*anamnesis*—in which the sacred elements, at this point in the Liturgy of St Basil called *antitypes*, of the Body and Blood of Christ are offered in remembrance of His death and passion. This is followed by the *epiclesis*, or invocation of the Holy Spirit, in which we pray that these elements may become what our Lord said that they were, not as an end in themselves, but that we receiving them may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood "unto soberness of soul, unto the remission of sins, unto the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, unto the fulfilling of the kingdom of Heaven."

We now turn to the Prayer of Consecration in the E.C.U. "Green Book." Here an explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit is inserted *before* the recital of the Institution, our Lord's words of administration being still left in the position of the climax as directly effecting

or at least completing the consecration. The invocation is merely preparatory to the formula. To the latter will inevitably be added elevations and genuflections indicative of the current Roman teaching that consecration is effected by the recital of this form of words rather than by prayer for power from on high. The invocation, taken from 1549, is in the 1549 position, and is admittedly the equivalent of the clause *Quam oblationem* in the Latin canon. It is strengthened as Cranmer strengthened it, and made a definite invocation of the Holy Spirit, no doubt to meet the views of those who have made a strong point of the almost universal existence of such an *epiclesis* outside the Roman rite. But in all these other rites the *epiclesis* comes last. The well-nigh universal order is

(1) Recital of the Institution.
(2) Anamnesis or Oblation.
(3) Epiclesis or Invocation.

This order is Christological: Calvary, Ascension, Pentecost.

But the E.C.U. and 1549 order, parallel though it may be said to be with the Roman canon, places Pentecost before Calvary. As a matter of fact the careful scholarship of the non-jurors corrected the 1549 order by placing the invocation last in 1718, 1734, and 1748, and this position has been followed since 1764 in the Scottish rite, having been deliberately retained after full consideration by the revisers in 1890 and again in 1911. It is also the order in the American and South African rites[1].

[1] Notwithstanding the popular view, this order, which has a real claim to be entitled Catholic, may well be that in the Roman rite. For Mgr. Duchesne and other scholars regard the clause *Supplices te rogamus* in the normal place after the Institution and Oblation as the Roman representative of the Invocation.

Here then we have the rejection of what is broadly Catholic in favour of what is local and limited in range. Liturgy after liturgy has the order (1) Institution, (2) Oblation, (3) Invocation. Only 1549 and a handful of obsolete Anglican rites, little if ever used, have the order 3–1–2. The Roman canon is so obscure that it is hard to say with truth whether it follows the normal order or whether it is a case of 3–1–2 or whether it is akin to the Alexandrian rites which have an invocation first as well as last. The E.C.U. have done the very thing some of their friends have repeatedly accused our best liturgical scholars of doing—they have "revived something which the common sense of the church made obsolete years ago." But the reason seems clear. Provided the invocation precedes, it can be used as a mere preliminary to the words "This is my Body," "This is my Blood" which can then be treated as the "form" of consecration, in the Latin manner.

(3) *Roman teaching.* There grew up in Western Christendom a doctrine of consecration according to which the words "This is my Body," "This is my Blood" are an operative "form" of the same kind as "I baptise thee..." is the "form" in Baptism. Although it can be traced to an earlier date, the full development and the prevalence of this theory are more especially due to the schoolmen, with their love of logic and precision. The elevation of the sacred species immediately after consecration, largely due to the controversy on the doctrine of the nature of Christ's eucharistic presence associated with Berengarius, ceremonies which grew up in the 12th and 13th centuries, helped to emphasise the idea of these words being an almost wonder-working formula which effected consecration at a kind of magic moment.

The approved Roman teaching has long been that the consecration of the Eucharist is effected by the recital of the so-called words of Institution. Dr Fortescue wrote "Is Consecration by the words of Institution *de fide*? It certainly seems to be *sententia catholica*. Pius VII (May, 1822) forbade any other theory to be defended."

There is a group of scholarly men who will no doubt say that they do not agree with the Roman view of consecration, but that they regard the invocation of the Holy Spirit as a development from an earlier form of different character. But they will not be any better satisfied with the E.C.U. form. If we are to have a form of what we may call a developed type, let it follow the undoubted norm of that type.

As for the argument that an *epiclesis* is not Western, all one can say is that it may not have been the primitive form at Rome and some other places. That it existed and still exists in the Gallican rite is clear from a study of the Mozarabic missal in which the section of the canon to which it belongs, called the *Post pridie*, varies with the day. In the earliest masses it contains an *epiclesis*, in the later ones it does not; while in some we can see how an *epiclesis* which once existed was altered or modified to suit the growth of the theory that our Lord's words are the "form" of consecration. The *epiclesis* as the completion of consecration developed in East and West alike. In course of time it was well-nigh obscured by Roman influence in the West while it maintained its ground in the East.

A small group of scholars do not regard the *epiclesis* as primitive. At the present day there is danger that one result of their teaching may be to saddle the Church of England with a form of consecration which may or

may not be primitive, but which will be used to further Roman teaching, which assuredly is not primitive.

To attempt to get back to the earliest form of consecration would be absurd, because no one knows what it was, and there were probably many. What we do know is that all over Christendom—except perhaps at Rome—a form of consecration developed which was a prayer that enshrined an account of the Institution with our Lord's words, proceeded to an anamnesis or offering and concluded with an invocation or epiclesis, at first of the Logos, afterwards of the Holy Spirit. Here we have a really Catholic development, if the word Catholic means anything at all, because we find it all over the Church, just as we find the clearly developed doctrine of the Holy Trinity all over the Church.

Either the Prayer of Consecration should be left alone altogether, or it should be brought into conformity with what is the really Catholic order, as has been done by the compilers of the "Grey Book."

It is necessary to glance very briefly at the history of the Anglican forms. In the First Prayer Book of 1549, Cranmer, who seems to have realised that an explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit was desirable and to have known that the Eastern rites possessed one, added a definite form to the canon, but in the wrong place, namely *before* the recital of the Institution. No doubt he was partly swayed by the *Quam oblationem* clause of the Latin canon, partly by the long tradition of the Words of our Lord being the *verba consecrationis*. In 1552, owing to the influence of foreign Protestantism of an extreme type, the canon was completely recast. With great skill Cranmer managed to conciliate the Protestants by breaking up the old continuous canon,

while at the same time he seems to have been most careful not to go beyond the limits of Catholic precedent. He knew the Mozarabic rite and appears to have been influenced by it in the way he rearranged the service. The result, though most unsatisfactory, is liturgically Gallican, and is far better than many modern critics seem prepared to allow. But the Invocation is whittled away to the clause "Hear us, O merciful Father...and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine...may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood." Most important of all, the words of Institution form the climax and conclusion of the whole form with a prominence that (apart from ceremonial) they do not occupy in the Latin canon.

Let us note that the first Anglican revision of this Prayer of Consecration—that of Scotland 1637—goes back to the 1549 form with the Invocation. Further, the next revisions, those of the great non-juring scholars of the 18th century whose liturgical judgment was better than that of the Tractarians of a later date, restored the Invocation to its proper place in 1718, in 1734 and in 1748. Under this influence the Scottish Liturgy was revised in the same way and has had the normal order of parts in the Prayer of Consecration since 1764, and through it the American rite received the same order. The matter was fully considered when the Scottish rite was revised in 1911 and the same order was followed in the South African rite. We thus see how curiously alone the familiar English rite really is even among the other Anglican forms. The "Grey Book" therefore only follows the best traditions of Anglican scholarship and does what Anglican revisers have always done hitherto when they have revised the Prayer of Consecration.

There is no suggestion in any of the revision schemes of controlling the ceremonial at the time of consecration, though this is very much bound up with the view taken of the form. We should not expect it of course from the E.C.U. It is well known now that the elevation of the host at this point only came into use in the 12th and 13th centuries, while genuflections were later still, having spread from Italy in the 16th century. The nature of the form is here largely determined by the ceremonial. The 1549 Prayer Book explicitly said "without any elevation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people," thereby returning to the custom universal in the earlier ages and to some extent at least redressing the balance of parts in the form by laying less stress on the recital of our Lord's words. But there is no such safeguard in the "Green Book" which follows this arrangement. Presumably therefore its users will employ the Roman ceremonial of this part of the service notwithstanding its late and local character and the suspicion it arouses here.

Speaking generally of the "Green Book," notwithstanding the survival of the Gallican order of the Prayer Book to the extent that gives us the great Intercession at the time of the offertory, the net result will be to provide a service which can and will be carried out with Roman ceremonial so as to look exactly like the Roman rite. A few years, and the recitation will gradually become all but inaudible and then no one will know what rite is being used. The result some years later still can be foreseen—the Roman Missal.

Turning to a smaller matter, we are asked to use the word "Canon" for the Consecration form—unexceptionable in itself. But (1) in our present rite the Prayer

for the Church is part of the canon and it is proposed to leave this where it is, and (2) in any case the word should include the Preface. Dr Adrian Fortescue wrote of the canon "It is clear then that our Preface is part of it."

There is something peculiarly unfortunate in the way in which the appeal for the use of this word is made. We are reminded that it is used in the Visitation of the Sick in the 1549 Prayer Book, which is quoted, and the remark follows "It seems worth while to preserve this link with the past." This is evidently for the consumption of ruri-decanal chapters and the like. Were these methods concerned with anything else, some forceful words would probably be used to describe them. It is not really wanted because it is used in one obscure rubric of the First Prayer Book but because it is the word used in the Latin rites. Then why not say so? And except where Rome happens to have retained them, the E.C.U. compilers do not seem very anxious to preserve links with our English past. Indeed the dislike of the dominant section of those whom they represent for anything old English is becoming well known.

It is the same thing when we come to the wish to permit the bread to be consecrated on the corporal. It is called the "ancient custom" and the word "corporas" is given as an alternative to "corporal." Here again we have the appeal to moderate people in the country districts, who seem under the impression that the E.C.U. revisers are trying to restore things from the old English rites. Certainly the mediaeval rites consecrated on the "corporas"; so does the Roman rite to-day. But the Prayer Book has not permitted it since 1662; like the Eastern rites, it orders consecration on the paten. Here

then are the E.C.U. revisers, just at the time when our relations with the East are becoming closer, seemingly trying to get away from a long existing custom, which is a link with Eastern practice, in favour of doing what Rome does. We shall no doubt be told it is "Western" and ancient. But the Prayer Book practice happens to be equally Western and ancient, though not Roman, and not Sarum for that matter[1].

A statement in the "Green Book" which leaves a distasteful impression is that

The use of the one phrase which occurs in neither—"the holy, pure, and spotless oblation"—is meant to be in line with the description of the Elements in the Prayer for the Church as "our oblations."

Others would say it was meant to be in line with the wording of the Latin canon.

The E.C.U. wish the omission of the rubric directing the people to join with the Priest in the Lord's Prayer. They say "There seems no reason for compelling the people to join with the Priest if they do not wish to do so." The only thing that would make them not wish to join in is because they have been told it is "incorrect" to do so. But Dr Adrian Fortescue wrote "In all Eastern and in the Gallican rites it is said by the people." Or in other words it is a Catholic though not a Roman custom for the people to join, and the E.C.U. are anxious to provide for the Roman custom. Very

[1] The form for consecrating a paten in the Gelasian Sacramentary, which is also found in the Gregorian, in the Pontifical of Egbert, the Leofric missal, and in a Gerona pontifical of as late as the middle of the 13th century, has the words "Consecramus... hanc patenam ad conficiendum in ea corpus domini..." In the later forms of this prayer *conficiendum* has been altered to *confringendum* so as to correspond with actual practice, which no doubt came from Rome.

properly the "Grey Book" rubric requires the Catholic custom. In the Mozarabic rite the people answer *Amen* to every clause.

To be critical, one might suggest that the "Grey Book" canon passes too abruptly from the Invocation to the Lord's Prayer and that it would have been better to have restored the breaking of the bread to its more normal place, after the prayer of consecration and before the administration of communion. Yet we must remember that the making of some kind of fraction at the words "he brake it" is not without mediaeval precedent: it is no new invention of the 16th century reformers.

In the "Grey Book" the traditional order of administering communion is retained and the ancient and universal practice of singing at this time is provided for. Before giving communion to the people the priest may say *Draw near with faith, and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort,* familiar words omitted from the form *Ye that do truly* earlier in the service. This is in line with Eastern precedent. In the Orthodox Eastern Church, before giving communion to the lay people the priest says: "In the fear of God and with faith draw near."

Very wisely in the "Grey Book" the existing forms of administration remain as the normal use in the text of the rite, but the rubrics at the end allow several variations, including administration of both kinds together by intinction which is the Eastern method.

The "Grey Book" rubrics provide for what remains of the Sacrament being left on the altar till the end of the service, and for the consumption of it and consequently the taking of the ablutions, then, and not immediately after the communion. Although latterly in

the mediaeval rites it had become customary to take the ablutions immediately after communion, much as in the Roman rite of to-day, the earlier practice was to wait till the end, as in the Orthodox Eastern Church. There the taking of the ablutions by the deacon begins just before the end of the service and continues after it, or if there be no deacon the priest takes the ablutions after the service, as is usually done by Anglicans.

On p. 46 of the E.C.U. "Green Book" the separate confession and absolution for the communicants is justified among other things by the words: "Here, as so often, considerations of spiritual efficiency enforce the maxims: *Vetus melius est*; τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω."

This is really rather nauseating when we remember that the custom in question only dates from the 13th century, and when the compilers go on to recommend the omission of the direction to deliver the Eucharist into the hands of the communicant, the taking of the ablutions immediately after communion, and the use of the "Last Gospel." In anything else but a liturgical matter there would be an outcry at these methods. It is well known that there are some who wish to deliver the Eucharist into the communicants' mouths in other cases besides those of infectious diseases.

We note further that while the priest at a Sarum high mass recited *In principio* as a meditation on the way back to the vestry, the E.C.U. rite allows the Roman usage of reading at the altar the Gospel of a displaced Sunday mass after the service of a Saint's day. This is no meditation: it is simply "Table Prayers" of the displaced mass reduced to a minimum. Does anyone seriously pretend that the "Last Gospel" would be asked for if Rome did not order it?

Most properly there is no suggestion of a "Last Gospel" in the "Grey Book." This feature of the Latin rites in comparatively modern times has an origin which will not bear investigation. The mediaeval church was obliged to stop priests multiplying masses on the same day for money payments, so the clergy cut them down to "Table Prayers" and then still further to Gospels only. The first fourteen verses of St John's Gospel became popular for this purpose because of their supposed magic value and not because of their suitability as a meditation on the Incarnation. The substitution of another Gospel on certain days in the Roman rite, e.g. of a Sunday displaced by a Saint's day, is really the minimum of Table Prayers of the displaced mass. If there can be such a thing as liturgical corruption, we have it here. This is apart altogether from the very obvious unsuitability of inverting the whole sequence of parts of the rite by placing instruction after consecration and communion. There is no such thing as a "Last Gospel" in any Eastern or Anglican rite.

In the E.C.U. proposals for additional Collects, Epistles and Gospels we find the same appeal to Rome, and little looking elsewhere. We give one instance which shows the sort of revision and the outlook of the revisers. An Epistle and Gospel are required for the Vigil of the Ascension. Well and good. The Prayer Book epistles and gospels are on the whole taken from the Sarum missal. But the E.C.U. have gone to the Roman missal, with the result that they have selected the Prayer Book (and Sarum) epistle for St Mark's Day which falls near that time. The Roman series is different: the Roman epistle on St Mark's Day is not the same. Similarly the Sarum epistle for the Vigil of the Ascension is not the same as

the Sarum (and Prayer Book) epistle for St Mark. Here then is "enrichment"! Because the E.C.U. revisers insist on being Roman they can only repeat the Prayer Book epistle for St Mark's Day.

Lastly, although lack of space forbids us to discuss the matter at length, we protest most strongly against the really outrageous demand on p. 12 for the anointing of the hands of ordinands and the tradition of the instruments at ordinations. We wish the Church of England had been spared this appearing in print.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE QUESTION OF CEREMONIAL: ENGLISH OR ROMAN?

It will have been noticed that in dealing with the question of Prayer Book revision we have not only gone behind the actual details of proposals to the general principles of church authority in liturgical matters, but we have been obliged to include many references to ceremonial in the general discussion. We are faced with the problem of an unthinking assimilation to Rome which has seized the imagination of a section of Anglo-Catholics. We believe that ceremonial is the root cause of it. There, and not in more weighty matters, the appeal to Rome began. From that small seed it grew. Ceremonial cannot be ignored, and the question must be faced. No Prayer Book revision will ever be complete in actual practice without its consideration. No settlement of public worship will ever be stable until the living authority of the Church of England provides for its proper and legitimate use in a manner intelligible to the users. Loyal churchmen must demand a settlement of this question, in principle and in detail. The present intolerable situation was nurtured in an atmosphere of Privy Council judgments and has grown up in one of superior indifference to supposed trifles and of a mistaken desire for comprehensiveness. We are only just shaking ourselves free of the idea that these are merely disputes about the cut of a vestment or the number of candles: that there are two ways of doing these things, two "uses," one "Sarum" (or "English"), and the

other "Roman." It is not so long since people thought that "Sarum use" meant that one used a red altar frontal on Sundays after Trinity, while "Roman use" meant using a green one; or that "English use" means having two lights on the altar, whereas "Roman use" means having six on a shelf behind. It never seemed to occur to anyone that if such things are to be done at all, there is probably a right and a wrong way of doing them, and that if so, there is a reason somewhere, and that as soon as the reason is found, the question of authority is involved.

Let us go a little further. What is "Roman use"? It is nothing less than the Roman rite and all its ceremonies; if we only choose some bits out of it here and there, such as rules for colours and lights, we do not really have Roman use; we follow Roman authority for these particular things, but some other authority for everything else. The Tractarians who innocently supplemented the Prayer Book rite with Roman colours and other trifles did not really follow Roman use. But the history of the 19th century proves that there was no stopping there; that the appeal to Rome, once begun, could not fail to end in a desire to carry it to its logical conclusions, with the results we know. This was foreseen by liturgiologists many years ago; but no one believed them. Men who were really loyal to the Prayer Book text indignantly repudiated the charge of disloyalty while they themselves were building up an appeal to Rome which began by a mere desire to use a certain amount of Roman ceremonial "correctly."

What, again, is "Sarum use"? It is the whole of the Sarum rite, text and ceremonies, ordered and customary in the great cathedral church of Salisbury, which became

the predominant rite in England of old. While considerable portions remain in the Prayer Book, in its complete form it has been abolished by the Prayer Book, and can be used no longer unless competent authority were to withdraw the Prayer Book and revive it.

But what then is "English use"?[1] Just as "Roman use" really means the Roman services and their ceremonies whole and entire, so "English use" really means the Book of Common Prayer with all such ceremonial as can legitimately be used with it, be it much or little in amount. In popular language lately there has been a tendency to employ the expression to indicate a considerable amount of ceremonial carried out definitely and consciously upon English as opposed to Roman lines.

"English use" naturally includes much that comes from the Sarum rite, both in the text of the Prayer Book and in the ceremonial which naturally accompanies it, if elaborate ceremonial be used, though certain other English customs form a legitimate alternative to those used at Sarum.

Let us recall the title-page of the Prayer Book:

> "*The Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church*"

—that is the sacraments and other services which are essentially the same everywhere in the Catholic or universal Church, however the form, method, or use may vary—

> "*according to the Use of the Church of England*"

—that is to say, according to the form of words and accompanying actions here prescribed for England.

[1] See a very useful tract *What is the English Use?* by the Rev. Colin Dunlop published by the Alcuin Club (Mowbray, 1*s.* 6*d.*).

One would think that this is, or ought to be, an end of the whole matter, and that there could never have been any question of doing things otherwise. But it has not been so. Why? The Prayer Book says very little about how the services are to be carried out. It contains no such code of ceremonial rubrics as the Roman missal. It contains a simplified form of much older and more elaborate services; it was made small enough to hold all the services in one volume. Therefore there was no room for a lot of directions. And in the days when the Prayer Book was first made, clergy and people were accustomed to the traditional ways which had come down from times they could not remember.

The cardinal fact remains that English authority has done nothing to substitute any other method of carrying out the service taken from any other quarter. The only real question is one of the *amount* of what is done, not of its nature. English authority has never substituted Roman usages for English.

But there are two definite directions which cover most of these things. They are first, that "the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past," and second, that "such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of *England*, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth[1]."

[1] There has been much controversy as to whether this refers to the practice of the second regnal year of King Edward, i.e. 1548, or to the rubrics of the Prayer Book of 1549. It does not greatly matter, for the 1549 rubrics are not exhaustive as regards ornaments—the organ is not mentioned, neither is the burse or corporas case, any more than the censer—and the actual practice under the First Prayer Book among those who obeyed its rubrics did not differ very much from that of 1548.

Now these prescriptions, made in what is known as the Ornaments Rubric, authorise the settings and adjuncts of the traditional English use as it had come down with the old Latin rites, though of course only so far as such things would agree with the new Prayer Book service. The words "at all times of their Ministration" limit the employment of the old ornaments to the "times of ministration" provided in the Prayer Book.

Here then we see the English use as given in the Prayer Book includes not only the text of the services and the few rubrics scattered through them, but also a definite reference to the ceremonial use of previous English tradition, which is therefore continued by the Ornaments Rubric, so far as that is not inconsistent with the modern "use" as set forth in the rest of the book. This is what the clergy have promised to obey.

What then was this older English "use," the ceremonial parts of which the Prayer Book largely presupposes or enjoins? The word "use" was employed of old to distinguish different local or national rites or forms of service, of the Latin type. The Roman rite itself was not used in those days all over Latin Christendom to the extent that is the case now, but each district had its own service books, which—although they belonged to the Roman as distinguished from, let us say, Eastern liturgical groups or families—had certain well-defined characteristic differences, especially in ceremonial, which in England, France and elsewhere was largely of a non-Roman or Gallican type. Thus the use of Sarum or Salisbury was the principal form of service in England, though York and Hereford had also their own books, and religious orders had theirs. Such uses or methods of service included (*a*) text and (*b*) ceremonies.

As far as it adheres to the Latin rites, the Prayer Book is based upon the use of Sarum. Take the epistles and gospels for Advent, Trinity Sunday and the Sundays after Trinity. They are those in the Sarum missal, not those in the Roman, which reckons Sundays after Pentecost. So the ceremonial which goes with the Prayer Book is that which accompanied the Sarum missal, not that prescribed by the Roman. Does this mean that we are bound to all the details prescribed in the old Salisbury books so far as they are not inconsistent with the Prayer Book? Not necessarily; a good deal in them represents the practice of Salisbury cathedral, and not that of parish churches. The English use to which the Prayer Book refers us is not a system rigidly laid down to the minutest detail, as the Roman has become in recent times. It allows—within limits of course—much greater variety, just as some of the non-Roman Continental uses allowed considerable variations. Even the rules for the elaborate services in the cathedrals and collegiate churches were not so rigid as the Roman rite is now, and they did not apply in all respects in parish churches. The English use then comprises the general English practice to which the people were accustomed who first made the Prayer Book. In this general practice the Sarum use was the most important element.

The differences—which were definite—between the old uses of Sarum, York, and the rest "in saying and singing" concerned the text of the choir services, and those were done away with by the Prayer Book, which in referring to different forms of Divine Service, i.e. to Matins and Evensong, says "now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use." Of the old uses Sarum was by far the most widespread—it reached

literally from Land's End to John o' Groat's. And it was referred to as "English use." If we find a manuscript which describes itself as "secundum usum Anglie," that manuscript will turn out to be of Sarum use. The Sarum books, then, form one of the chief sources for the historic interpretation of the Prayer Book, especially in matters of ceremonial, but they have no authority now where they contradict the Prayer Book, and some knowledge of other sources of information is needed to check, to interpret and to supplement the Sarum books, if we are really to understand what the English use is.

All this is perfectly simple and intelligible. First we must use the services of the Prayer Book, obeying its rubrics; among the latter is the Ornaments Rubric, which refers us to the church arrangements and ceremonial adjuncts of the older tradition, as they were used either on the eve of the introduction of the First Prayer Book or immediately after it had been introduced. Then we must find out what that tradition was, and follow it, except where it is inconsistent with the later and living authority of the Prayer Book. For this tradition, the Sarum books are the principal, though not the only, source. That is the English use. Not merely the *old* English use—that, as a complete whole, disappeared with the Latin books—but the English use, the modern use expressed or implied by the Prayer Book. In this way we bring ourselves into conformity with the practice of "the whole Catholick Church of Christ." For the Catholic practice is this, that the sacraments and services of the Church, although the same in essence everywhere, have not been ministered in the same way everywhere. In unessential parts their ministration has varied "in

accordance with countries, times and men's manners." While the essentials can never vary, national and local feeling has found abundant expression in these variations of non-essentials which we call different liturgies, or (in a lesser degree) different uses. To claim that parts of the Church may alter great essentials is wrong, but it is also wrong to claim that one identical liturgy or use should be adopted without regard to national and local rights and conditions. To stigmatise this position as merely "insular" is not Catholic, and it is ultramontane rather than Roman in the best sense.

Therefore it is right that the Church of England should have services of her own, and it is also right that those services be kept (as they are) within the limits of variation allowed by the common sense of Christendom. Puritanism is an example of the one evil, Romanism of the other.

At this point we do well to ask why this Prayer Book system has not been consistently carried out. The answer is that it has been assailed during several centuries by a Puritanism that rejected the appeal to the general judgment of Christendom, and during the last few years by a Roman tendency that would interpret that appeal in the narrowest terms of the Roman system. *The Prayer Book has never had its real chance.*

The Puritan party that arose at the Reformation wanted neither Prayer Book nor ceremonies; they hated even organs, bells and stained glass. For a time they succeeded in abolishing the Prayer Book altogether. Yet a certain amount of the old tradition never died out, although during later Hanoverian times the Church of England settled down to a long period of sleepy compromise and neglect. In the 19th century came

about what was called the Oxford Movement, or Catholic Revival. Emphasising the continuity of the Church of England with the past, and her character as a part of the Church universal, this was a movement to obey the Prayer Book, to do what it said was to be done, to revive the traditional practices and methods which Puritanism and neglect had interrupted. It was in short a movement to carry out the English use.

But Puritanism and neglect had been so strong and widespread that no one could do all this at once. People knew that to understand these rules one ought to know what was done under the old Latin rite, so as to be able to carry out traditions which the Prayer Book assumed, but for which it gave no explicit directions. Notwithstanding the sweeping character of the Ornaments Rubric, such knowledge was difficult to obtain in the 'forties, 'fifties and 'sixties of the last century. And while many were laboriously acquiring it, there were some who became tired of searching for knowledge of liturgical details which in themselves were manifestly of secondary importance. Some thought of a short cut to end all such difficulties. They knew that the texts of the Roman and other Continental service books had great affinities with the pre-Reformation rites, and they therefore began to copy Continental practice whenever they were in doubt about anything, thinking that this was a legitimate development of earlier practice in England. At the same time they tried hard not to disobey the Prayer Book. They did not believe that Rome had any special authority. They knew that many French dioceses had their own uses, although they understood but little of what was involved in this. But their position led them in course of time to an appeal to Rome for

nearly everything relating to our services. Roman directions were easily accessible, and after 1870 the triumph of ultramontanism abroad destroyed most of the French rites. Even a general appeal to Continental practice turned into an appeal to Rome, for the spread of the Roman rite became more striking than the Continental survivals of national and local freedom. Roman practice came to be the test by which everything else was condemned. The Prayer Book itself came to be discredited and despised, when men began to realise how it differed from the Roman books. "Prayer-booky" became a term of contempt. There grew up a practice of assimilating the services—that of Holy Communion especially—to the Roman rite, regardless of any other liturgical consideration. Anything not Roman came to be regarded as "Protestant" and the Prayer Book rite something to be hidden, whittled away, covered up or gradually got rid of. Discreet omissions and secret additions, coupled with a more or less complete adoption of Roman ceremonial, turned the service from the English into the Roman mass, with a larger or smaller amount of Prayer Book matter, said more or less aloud, still remaining as more or less of a nuisance[1]. And so with certain other rites to a less extent. Does the Prayer Book, continuing the Sarum and other English rules,

[1] This organised and definite assimilation to the Roman rite coupled with a determination to ignore the mediaeval English and other non-Roman sources of enrichment was clearly and deliberately planned in the late Orby Shipley's *Ritual of the Altar*, the preface to which was written in 1869. This contains most of the arguments used ever since on the Romanising side. The writer has been told that St Alban's, Holborn, was the first church to adopt these methods in actual practice. In any case it was among the first, and its influence was very great and widespread.

order the priest to take the child in his arms when baptising it, as is also done in the East? One of the earlier and simpler ritualistic handbooks suggests that he should not, presumably from motives of convenience, but really following the Roman use. As for Matins and Evensong, the former has been systematically degraded, and men who are bound to recite their daily service according to the Prayer Book have substituted the Roman breviary in private on the ground that the Prayer Book service is not the Divine Office at all, merely because it follows a different arrangement from the Roman.

Such a position is simply not Catholic. It is not even Roman, for Rome understands essentials and demands submission, while if she obtained essentials she is well able to recognise difference of rite, such as she allows not only to her Oriental children, but to some extent to certain Westerns.

The copying of Roman altars has brought utterly incongruous fittings into many an ancient church. And the imitation of Continental vestments has filled our churches with tawdry and degraded forms, of comparatively recent introduction even abroad, and such as are condemned by those Roman Catholics who have studied these things.

The fact is that the comparatively innocent resort to Continental practice in days when it was difficult to recover our own tradition, has developed into a form of Romanism sometimes so crude and so extreme that it is hard to find its equal even within the Roman communion. Side by side with this there still exists a large amount of Roman liturgical practice begun in ignorance and maintained because of associations by those who

are at heart loyal to the Church of England, but who have hardly yet realised the inevitable effect of their actions upon others.

It is perhaps not generally known how far the Roman ceremonialists have drifted from any attempt to obey the Ornaments Rubric. It may be worth while to explain, even at the cost of wearying the reader with a few ceremonial details, such as the writer has endeavoured to avoid as far as possible in these pages. The Ornaments Rubric is the authority for veiling pictures, crosses, etc. in Lent. But the Romaniser will only veil them during the last fortnight, and uses purple veils, whereas at the time to which the rubric refers the veils were used from the beginning of Lent and were generally white. Under the Ornaments Rubric, the ornament for reserving the Eucharist is either the pyx suspended above the altar or the aumbry or Sacrament House in the north wall of the sanctuary. Yet the Romaniser substitutes an altogether different ornament, viz. the tabernacle on the altar. While the Ornaments Rubric is the authority for surplice, rochet or albe for servers, the Roman ceremonialist substitutes the peculiarly Italian vestment called a cotta, which is one of the ugliest garments ever invented. Anyone who has known anything of an old English church will remember that the seats for the clergy in the chancel wall are often graduated in height; for the celebrant sat in the eastmost. But not a bit of it now, even though the Dominicans follow the same usage as we did of old; for the Roman celebrant sits in the middle one.

If, as is contended, and we believe, truly, that the rubric is our authority for wearing the cope in a procession preceding the Eucharist, it is also our authority

for wearing the maniple. But the Roman ceremonialist will do the former but not the latter. And so one might go on. We may be told those are trifles. Yet we are concerned with the very people who are particular about the importance of trifles. And though they are not very important in detail, their cumulative effect is considerable. Anyone can bear witness to this who has seen the two kinds of ceremonial. And anyone who knows what an old English chancel is like when fairly untouched can appreciate the incongruity of the attempts at Italianisation one sometimes sees. Think of the old Perpendicular church, it may be in Norfolk or Suffolk, or it may be in Somerset or Devon. There are the screen, and perhaps the ancient returned stalls, and the great east window, whose proportions make a Roman altar impossible. Those churches and their treasures are the unending delight of many a heart and they are among the purest manifestations of Christian beauty. They are the pride of the villages to which they belong; they are the envy of many Roman Catholics; their screens excite the admiration of the occasional Eastern exile, and bring back memories of the Holy Orthodox Church. Yet we have heard them sneered at and giggled at, and we have heard them coldly dismissed as "merely C. of E."; "uncatholic"; "undevotional"; and vilified by the rest of the vocabulary evolved by the London "spike." No doubt these are the posings of a minority, chiefly youthful and irresponsible. But there is no smoke without fire, and we are unfortunately able to go further. There was a case of an ancient chalice which one of these men tried to have made into a vessel for reservation, and he wished to have it mutilated to make it fit a wretched little cheap tabernacle he had set upon the

altar. Another case occurs to the writer, where a beautiful but simple modern rood screen was removed because it was not Roman. What will be the next step? An attack on ancient screens, because they interfere with Benediction, and because they are not in favour at Rome? Already we know of two cases where a large credence table with big candlesticks, etc., as in the Roman rite, is set up in front of the ancient piscina, once disused by Puritans, now disused by "spikes." We recall a mediaeval font basin lying desecrated by the churchyard gate. A Simeon trustee or Peache trustee living? Not in the least—a church of the "uncompromisingly Catholic" type, full of the products of the Society of SS. Peter and Paul. We know too of some 13th century pillars disfigured by cheap Stations of the Cross, and we have heard of a mediaeval pulpit mutilated to make a crucifix fit into one of its panels. We have also seen a window containing ancient glass covered with a curtain to show off six candlesticks and a tabernacle; altar rails moved to where the screen ought to be, as in a Roman church, and a large image of the Sacred Heart placed beside them.

Poor dear old Perpendicular churches with their paintings and carvings that have suffered so much, first at the hands of Puritans and then from the Victorian restorer! Are they to suffer yet again from the "efficient" Italianiser? No. Before that happens the bulk of loyal churchmen, including those who have fought hardest against the evil day, would go to the State with tears in their eyes and demand a form of protection which would at any rate save something from the wreck. Now this will be called hysterical, but it is not impossible in time unless something be done to stop the rot. It

will also be called unfair by many of the Romanising party, who would be horrified at such developments, and who would be prepared to arrange special treatment for old churches. But such "concessions" are on the wrong basis of looking on what is Roman as normal, and the crudities suggested above are the inevitable developments of a false position, such as might well occur in years to come, just as they have already occurred through the working of similar causes in parts of the Continent. It is the undoubted facts as to the "developments" which have taken place abroad under ultramontane influence that force one to the conclusion that if the same point of view grows up here, the same results are bound to follow. We have to consider what the rank and file would do in years to come, not what would happen immediately.

The destruction and mutilation of modern vestments of non-Roman type can easily be found. In one almost brutal case a lady, who had generously made the vestments and given them, was herself practically compelled to cut them up. And these are vestments such as are being made and used every day by many Roman Catholics.

The whole attitude of the Roman party to the post-Reformation history of the Church of England has long left much to be desired as far as regard for historic fact is concerned. The older Tractarians not only based the Catholic revival upon the Prayer Book, but claimed that there had been a continuous tradition of Catholic interpretation of it. The publication of *Hierurgia Anglicana* as early as 1848 is evidence of this. But the English post-Reformation Catholic tradition in practice, small as it may seem when contrasted with Puritanism and

its results, is no help to the Romaniser. The non-jurors for example turned to the East and not to Rome. One of the hardest struggles of the early Tractarians was to contend against the ignorance then prevalent of practices that had been going on in the Church of England even as late as Georgian times. The Protestant party took full advantage of this to make people think things were innovations that were not really alien to post-Reformation practice, and they suppressed the truth about what had been done since the Reformation. Now it is Anglo-Catholics who lay stress on the devastations of Puritanism, the loss of old traditions, the utter desolation of the Church before the Oxford Movement, and who try to whittle away and minimise evidence of Catholic practices continuing. It would be easy to quote letters in the church papers pouring ridicule upon the liturgiologists for emphasising the significance of these things. Obviously people who introduce the Roman row of six altar candlesticks do not like the strong line of evidence for the continuous use of two only, especially when the fact that these were so often of silver in the great churches shows that the absence of six was due to no lack of means. And the introduction of cottas is not facilitated by the fact that the surplice and rochet came down from the middle ages in unbroken length and fulness till within living memory.

There is a specious plea for simplicity sometimes made in the Romanising interest. Certain features of Roman ceremonial which can be represented as simpler than the English are put forward. The priest who will abate nothing of the *minutiae* prescribed in the Roman rite for the handling of what is on the altar will talk about a "simple *missa cantata,*" and will be quite prepared

to omit incense, knowing that in the Roman rite incense is only required at high mass. But if he does use incense, he will use it at all the times prescribed at Rome and will cense the altar with the multitude of swings ordered in the *ritus servandus*. *Missa cantata* (i.e. *missa cantata sine ministris sacris*), or a low mass sung instead of said, is a comparatively modern abuse, if an epistoler and gospeller are available. The Eastern Church knows it not, nor did the mediaeval Church, save of course where the priest is single-handed. If there is a Catholic custom known to the Church, it is that of the solemn celebration of the Eucharist with the three sacred ministers. This is the norm of the Christian Liturgy and the Church of England kept it up in the worst days. Yet it is not a thing that Anglo-Catholics ever "push" now, because according to Roman use it must be all or nothing in the way of ceremonial; if you have high mass you must have everything; if you can't have everything, you have *missa cantata*. It is not so abroad where the Roman rite is not used or where Roman customs are not strictly followed. It is still possible to see high mass in France without incense, or without the full use of it. Again, the disuse of apparels on albes is called "simplicity," but it is the sort of simplicity that very readily substitutes lace! One might easily go on. All along the line it is the same thing. That which is Roman is done, and it is justified to the people by the first argument which comes to hand. The one thing the people are not told is this, that there are different ways of doing the same thing, and that the Roman way has been chosen. Take any reasonable audience of church people in the country (save carefully drilled extremists on either side) and place honestly before them the English and the

Roman methods with the respective arguments. There is no question at all of the decision. Half the trouble is that many Anglo-Catholics know this perfectly well—and act accordingly.

It is necessary to deal with certain arguments commonly used by defenders of Roman ceremonial. They sometimes say there is no such thing as the English use, often with the subtle suggestion that if there were, they might be prepared to consider it, while at other times they admit that it exists and condemn it on the ground of it being insular or obsolete. Another method of attack is to say that there is no serious difference between what is English and what is Roman; that both are varieties of the same thing; or that one is mediaeval and the other modern. Or else stress is laid on forms of vestments, arrangement of altars and the like, and we are told that what is called English is gothic or mediaeval, while the Roman is merely the same thing in a modern or Renaissance dress. Or perhaps we may be told that the Roman rite or its ceremonies represents what is developed and improved, the mediaeval what is crude and "antiquarian" or obsolete. Or another line may be taken, and it will be said that we are free to clothe the Prayer Book rite with such ceremonial as we will and that the Roman is the most easily understood and the most convenient.

It is time to deal faithfully with these arguments, many of them half-truths at best. They have been repeated of late *ad nauseam* and have deceived many.

The simplest answer, and one which covers them all, is to point out that no liturgical scholar, no one who really knows the facts, has ever used them.

If we are asked for the test of a liturgical scholar,

we reply, one who by his original research or published works is recognised as an authority by those outside the sphere of immediate controversy. For example, who are the men in England who are known and recognised by Roman Catholic liturgiologists abroad? Roman Catholic scholars will not agree with Anglican views or the Anglican position, but they respect and quote the results of Anglican scholarship on matters of liturgical fact, and on the history of service books and ceremonies. As an instance, Dr Adrian Fortescue in his book on *The Mass* gives nearly 380 references to Anglican writers or texts edited by them, with nearly 60 more, if different pages under the same reference be included. A few of his criticisms are of course unfavourable. But the point is that the Anglican scholars who are thought worthy of trust or quotation by Roman Catholics, or even of serious criticism by them, never use arguments such as are referred to above. In short they are all "Prayer Book" men, and "English use" men. All of them are, or have been, against the Romanising. We might develop a similar argument as regards scholars recognised and quoted by others than Roman Catholics and for other purposes.

If these liturgical questions were really being discussed on their merits, and there were not the authoritarian question behind, what has just been pointed out would settle the whole matter of Romanising in liturgical things for all intelligent people. It would be needless to go further. On no other subject would the ordinary individual coolly turn his back on the unanimous judgment of practically every specialist. It is not even a case of a mere majority of disagreeing doctors.

Yet it may be as well to discuss these common arguments, or rather assertions, *seriatim*.

The very title-page of the Prayer Book asserts the existence of an English use, as already pointed out on p. 69. That this was no new or merely Reformation conception is shown not merely by the existence of the Sarum, York and other local uses, but by the fact that the term "secundum usum Angliæ" was actually employed. Moreover there are cases where the English use was definitely contrasted with the Roman use, as in certain pontificals. These MSS. were the personal property of bishops who had sometimes to go to Rome, and found it convenient to know the Roman use for certain purposes. There was the definite intention of doing things in England in the English way, not in any merely Protestant sense, but in a Catholic sense. The extent of the difference from Rome is not important here; but its existence and recognition are most significant. The mediaeval church had no idea of a cast-iron uniform Western use.

Here we may do well to consider briefly the liturgical nature of Western rites. It is important to be on our guard against the opposite errors of assuming that the Sarum rite was either identical with the Roman on the one hand, or that it was of a completely different liturgical family (like an Eastern rite) on the other. In early days in Western Christendom outside Rome, rites of a type roughly to be described as Gallican were in use. The Roman rite might even have been called "insular" in view of the fact that the Gallican rites had certain things in common with the East which Rome had not. We speak generally of the period before Charles the Great, not of much earlier days when it is possible we

might find that this exceptional rite had not yet appeared at Rome. Charles the Great, claiming that the Gallican rites were in confusion, sent for a copy of the then Roman missal, had it combined with certain Gallican features and ordered its use everywhere. Even the Pope adopted the imperial revision of the liturgy. (Never was the Church of England more humiliated by the State!) The Gallican rites were almost wholly supplanted by the combined rite. But the new rite, though it had a Roman prayer of consecration and a Roman outline, still retained considerable elasticity in minor parts, in moveable parts and in ceremonial. Roman as compared with the true Gallican rites, the mediaeval rites retained much that was non-Roman; they even developed under certain limitations and produced the definite local uses of Sarum or York; Paris or Rouen; Seville, Constanz, Cologne, Utrecht, Trondhjem or the rest. Some of these have affinities between themselves, some were more, others less like the Roman in certain details. At Lyons the Gallican element was stronger, at Milan much stronger, while in the Mozarabic rite, the Gallican rite itself survives to this day. Now the Sarum rite was the predominant English use and the immediate parent of the Prayer Book. The ceremonial of the Sarum rite naturally continues with the Prayer Book, except in so far as the changes in rite make it impossible. That it did not so continue but largely died out is no positive liturgical change, but merely a minus quantity. There was no approximation to the Roman rite either in fact or intention. And the changes in the Prayer Book text were Gallican and not Roman. There was no move in the Church of England corresponding with the Romanising legislation of the Tridentine re-

formed service books. And where the revivals of ceremonial in the 17th century were not drawn from mediaeval tradition, they were Eastern rather than Roman, or else they were an entirely free development.

It has been said that high mass at Rome was just like high mass at Salisbury in ancient times. This is true in the sense that high mass has much in common in all Western rites, but it is not true as regards details. Even at the present day a man well-used to the Roman rite who was recently present at high mass in a Spanish cathedral was much puzzled by the ceremonial: he thought it very beautiful, but very much like that of St Mary's, Primrose Hill. Another who was at high mass in another Spanish cathedral said he simply could not follow it. This in itself is an answer to the arguments that if there had been no Reformation we should have been "like the rest of the Western church." It is notorious that Spain—more Roman in many ways than England ever was—retains much that is national in ceremonial. It is unthinkable that England would have retained less than Spain, or that we should now be made more Roman than Spain. In a certain broad sense these may be said to be varieties of the same thing, viz. of Western use; but only if we regard Western use from the broadest possible standpoint in contrast, let us say, to the Eastern rites. The fact remains that there are and always have been several Western uses.

Now as regards vestments and ornaments. It is not true to say that the Roman ornaments of to-day are merely Renaissance forms. They may be that, but they are also Italian. The Italian mediaeval chasuble was large and full, but it was not identical with an English chasuble, any more than the stiff cut-down Italian

chasuble of to-day is identical with the stiff cut-down chasuble of France or Spain. The Italian cotta is not a mere Renaissance surplice cut short and trimmed with lace. Plenty of such surplices can be seen abroad, but they are not cottas. The Renaissance form of the priest's square cap in England is the "mortar board" not the Italian biretta. The Italian altar tabernacle is not a Renaissance form of the hanging pyx; the hanging pyx was often made in France in Renaissance style. The altar with shelves and a row of six lights is not merely a Renaissance altar; it is an altar of a type which has spread from Rome. The non-Roman Renaissance altar, well known in 17th and 18th century France, was like a mediaeval altar with Renaissance detail.

What is now being done by the Romanising section of the Anglo-Catholics is not the mere adoption of Renaissance forms of these ornaments, but of strictly Roman forms. The "short surplice" is usually the Italian cotta, not one of the ordinary Continental forms of the surplice. One never sees a French or German surplice among our "spikes." The chasuble is the strictly Roman chasuble with the low neck in front and the stripe or "pillar" behind, seldom the French chasuble with the cross behind or the Spanish chasuble with the high neck. These ugly rococo forms of the vestments are pressed upon us as being "convenient." Yet the Spanish chasuble is more convenient than the Roman, and the Roman cope is the stiffest and most awkward form in which this vestment exists. Here again it is hard to believe that the reason given is the real reason; it is not really convenience that is desired, but what is Roman, and Roman in the narrow sense of what Rome prescribes for countries like England

and the United States, not in the wider sense of what still exists in the broad limits of the Roman communion in Europe.

It has been said that we are part of the Western Patriarchate and are therefore bound to the Roman rite because "rite follows patriarchate." This assertion that "rite follows patriarchate" has been made by a Roman Catholic liturgical scholar, who naturally ignores the Anglican rites. At the same time he admits that the Mozarabic rite forms an exception to the rule, which therefore, even on his own showing, does not hold good in Western Christendom. Apart from such exceptions as these, the Roman rite itself has long existed with many variant forms, which though rightly classed as Roman in type, as opposed, let us say, to Byzantine or Alexandrian, are not in the least consistent with rigid uniformity. These are variants of rite: Western ceremonial has varied much more and still varies; a great deal of it has been (and still is) Gallican and not Roman. The truth is that there is not, and never has been, liturgical uniformity in the West, notwithstanding all the efforts of the upholders of the Roman ideal during 350 years. These efforts have by no means wholly succeeded, even within the Roman communion. The French rites of the 18th century are a witness against them. So are our own, with all their defects. None of the older liturgiologists ever propounded this theory of "rite follows patriarchate"; no Anglican liturgiologist has put it forward; no Eastern has ever said that all Westerns follow, or ought to follow, the Roman rite. It is a Roman theory adopted by Romanisers and has no real justification on an appeal to facts.

It is sometimes said that the Roman rite or its cere-

monies represents the unanimous consent of the Western Church or that they are the result of long experience. But what are the facts? The counter-Reformation, begun by the Council of Trent, was faced by a revolt which robbed the papacy of its mediaeval political power. The answer made to the Reformation movement was to bind the papal power far more firmly upon the Church. New editions of the Roman service books were hastily issued after Trent, and an attempt was made to enforce their use upon all churches which could not plead a prescription of more than 200 years for their own rites. This need scarcely have affected anyone except the South American colonies, but it set a fashion of Romanising. Bishops and chapters adopted the Roman books to secure papal support. But even those who adopted the Roman rite often clung to their own ceremonies. The Tridentine revision was somewhat hurriedly carried out. No manuscripts earlier than the 11th or 12th centuries were consulted. Elaborate ceremonial rubrics were added to the missal based on a treatise drawn up not long previously by one John Burchardt, whose outlook and morals were distinctly of the period, and who was Master of the Ceremonies in the Papal Chapel under Alexander VI. We speak of the Roman breviary of 1568 and the missal of 1570 as being "reformed," and of the earlier editions as "unreformed," but the amount of reformation was really very small. The truth is that the Church on the Continent was too much occupied with other matters to pay much attention to things liturgical. One of the Spanish bishops is said to have openly accused the Italian party at the Council of Trent of not having a competent liturgiologist among them. In our own day we have seen the breviary

drastically reformed by papal authority, and the canon of the mass is now the subject of most outspoken criticism at the hands of Roman Catholic scholars.

So far from the Roman rite and its ceremonies representing general consent and matured experience, we see in the 17th and 18th centuries a brilliant series of scholars arising in France, and through their influence the bishops subjecting their diocesan rites to most thorough revision in a non-Roman direction. Rite after rite in France was revised on the principle of rejecting all non-scriptural anthems, doubtful legends of saints and even the Gregorian distribution of the psalter. The old local ceremonial was usually retained or restored and embodied in rubrics. These reformed Gallican rites were attacked by Romanisers as the products of men tainted with Jansenism, but in spite of the French Revolution most of them remained until they disappeared one by one in an ultramontane onslaught upon them under Pius IX in the 19th century. In our own time we have seen the estrangement between Church and State in France which was largely caused by the systematic Romanising of the French Church. Even to-day it goes on in places; only recently a Romanising bishop in the province of Rouen has abolished the rulers of the choir because they are not Roman.

As for the stiff cut-down vestments, "fiddle-back" chasubles, short cottas, and tawdry lace, and the altars piled up with gradines, artificial flowers, sham candles and the like, all these things that are so popularly suggestive of the Roman rite, and therefore beloved by Anglican Romanisers—the late Dr Adrian Fortescue dismissed them as "18th century bad taste." Learned and sensible Roman Catholics look upon them as things

to be got rid of[1]. We quote in the Appendix a review in the *Revue Bénédictine* of a book entitled *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* edited by Dr Dearmer some years ago and published by the Alcuin Club. These are the words of a Roman Catholic scholar and they may fitly be contrasted with the flippant abuse and the crude representation that one would hear from certain Anglo-Catholics or in the sacristies of many ritualistic London, Brighton or Birmingham churches.

There is moreover the outstanding fact of the volume of reasoned criticism which the Roman rite has recently received from Roman Catholic scholars. This has not been lacking in severity. We may recollect that some years ago Latinising Anglicans were loud in their praises of the Roman breviary. They said it represented the final and matured judgment of the Western Church. To them, as to the late Dom Prosper Gueranger, an ultramontane French writer, the Gregorian distribution of the psalter was the sacred ark on which no hand might be laid. Yet some fifteen years ago the Roman authorities carried out a drastic revision of the Roman breviary in which the Gregorian distribution was abandoned. So much for uncritical admiration of what happens to be Roman! But the lesson has not been learned by many of our Anglo-Catholics.

Enough has now been said to show where we stand in the matter of ceremonial. The liturgical and historical facts have been stated; the story of the growth of the Roman movement in the Church of England has been

[1] But it should be remembered that the absence of these degradations does not of itself mean freedom from bondage to Roman authority; on the other hand a certain amount of tawdriness may well accompany such freedom. We need freedom from both.

told, and the present position disclosed without any attempt to pretend that there is anything short of an unparalleled condition of affairs, mixed no doubt with a good deal of ignorance, some of it culpable. It is a scandal which never ought to have been allowed to grow up. Many Anglo-Catholics who have been increasingly uneasy about it have long hesitated to "say anything that would tend towards a split." The older men have feared to "play into the hands of the Protestants." The present writer is one of an increasing number who now feel that the time has come to tell the whole truth, for the Romeward movement is now so definite that silence can no longer be justified. But the blame must fall on others besides Anglo-Catholics. There has been the crass stupidity of the Low Church party, which has had its head in the sand like an ostrich, refusing to see that ceremonial was bound to return in some form or other, and in offering an obstacle to its recognition, it has offered an obstacle to its regulation. Not so many years ago, the great majority of the Catholic party would have thankfully accepted regulation of ceremonial on English lines. The appeal to Rome could have been, and would have been, cut off, to the great advantage of the younger generation. If, at the time of the Lambeth "Hearings" on Incense and Reservation by Drs Temple and Maclagan, the opportunity had been taken of issuing ceremonial regulations based on English practice instead of mere prohibitions, we should never have been in the position we are in now. But some of the clergy concerned were very Roman and could not be defended on the English lines urged by the liturgiologists. On the other hand the Archbishops' pronouncements carried no conviction with

liturgical scholars. They may have been a "statesman-like" endeavour to pacify the "Low, Broad and Moderate" elements, but it was at the cost of losing a golden opportunity of obtaining control in liturgical matters that were already beginning to get out of hand. It is believed that most of the present bishops would have acted differently, and that many would welcome any possibility of regulation. But that will now be a more difficult matter. At the same time it will have to come. The Church of England cannot have Roman ceremonial forced upon her with every species of bluff and misrepresentation in the hope that authority may be compelled to recognise the *fait accompli*. Regulation in detail upon broadly Catholic lines, definitely non-Roman, definitely English, is the only cure for the present distress, and will be an absolutely vital corollary to Prayer Book revision. It is now up to the Low Churchmen, the Evangelicals and all "on that side," to face the facts of the situation and decide whether Anglo-Catholicism is to be a narrow imitation of Roman Catholicism, or to become free, English and loyal. They cannot kill it, but they can cure it, provided they allow the proper remedy to be applied. And that remedy is effective regulation by the bishops along Catholic but non-Roman lines.

The writer has been told again and again that if the bishops would only be courageous enough to do this, they would receive a great and increasing volume of support from all kinds of people of many different points of view. The opinion is undoubtedly gaining ground that it is the key to the situation and might even prove the turning point, in course of time, in the process of solution of the whole liturgical difficulty.

CHAPTER SIX

HOW THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND COULD REGULATE CEREMONIAL

We have pleaded for a view of the whole subject of liturgical reform so wide that it will include the regulation of ceremonial in a definite and practical way. It is needless to repeat the reasons. The main question is, How is the Church of England to carry out this regulation for which we ask? To some slight extent it can and will be done by the rubrics of a revised Prayer Book. But these will only touch the fringe of the subject. We claim that the matter is one of those things which come within the *jus liturgicum* of the bishops, that it is a question with which they must deal, with the assent of their clergy. With what machinery can they deal with it? It is a highly technical question requiring skilled advice and special knowledge. This means that the bishops would have to appoint a group of liturgical scholars to prepare the necessary details of any directions they issue. Obviously these directions, or this code of instructions, would need most careful and systematic handling in administration. While there is a tendency to overmuch variation as between dioceses at present, it would be in the highest degree unwise to attempt too rigid uniformity. Each diocesan bishop and his archdeacons would therefore be responsible for the actual administration of such directions locally. They would obtain advice or information as to details from their central technical experts. Their local experience would

guide them in the utilisation of this information in their own areas.

We may now consider the kind of regulation that is needed. To be effective it must be of sufficiently detailed character to form a real and practical substitute for the minutely detailed Roman or semi-Roman books now in use. No mere series of prohibitions would be of any value, nor would any exhortations to moderation, nor general statements of principle. There must be a generous provision for the amount of ceremonial which the "advanced" or "ritualistic" congregation is accustomed to. Nothing less than what is done in, let us say, St Mary's, Primrose Hill, or Bognor or St John or St Agnes, Kennington, will be any use. There should be no attempt to water it down, though simpler forms ought to be provided for use where such are required, and it would have to be made clear beyond all doubt that there is no suggestion that any of the ceremonial code should be adopted by any who do not themselves wish for that amount of elaboration. No Evangelical must have a moment's cause for suspicion that he is expected to add to the service things which he dislikes or does not want. There ought to be little difficulty in securing action on this basis, or in explaining it.

As for the material, and its immediate sources: let the liturgical scholars have instructions to prepare a ceremonial code or directory under the strictest limitation of the Prayer Book rite, either as now existing or as it may be revised, but otherwise based upon Sarum rubrics and general old English custom. Let it be issued with a clear official statement withdrawing everything else of the kind in present use, with perhaps one or two exceptions. There need be little difficulty about the

material. That has already been collected by the industry of the liturgical scholars of the last half-century. It is not hard to find in fairly practical form. Most if not all of what is needed is given in the *Parson's Handbook*, or in the *Directory of Ceremonial* lately printed by the Alcuin Club. Neither may be quite in condition for adoption exactly as it stands. The first is too long and the second is too short. But the matter they give is the right matter, and the service they describe is the same. The contents might well be arranged more like those of the late Rev. H. G. Morse's *Notes on Ceremonial* —which was itself the best book of the kind till the *Parson's Handbook* appeared. Such a full and complete book might of course contain a schedule of prohibitions, but prohibitions by themselves would be worse than useless, save only side by side with positive directions.

But something else would also be required. It must be recalled that the Romanising in ceremonial which has gone on for so long has brought into our churches a considerable number of ornaments and vestments which are not according to English tradition, are often in very bad taste, and are even of questionable legality. To make a clean sweep of them would be almost impossible. It would weigh heavily on poor parishes, and any such attempt would gravely prejudice the acceptance of the necessary ceremonial regulation. Every effort ought to be made to ease the situation for those who possess undesirable ornaments. But as soon as any kind of regulation is attempted, there will emerge a general agreement that certain things ought to go, as a sort of acid test of loyalty. It is hard to imagine any approach to these questions which would not rule out such ugly and incongruous things, as, for example, the

"cotta" in its modern Italian form, whether with or without lace, the biretta in church, altar cards, and of course the altar tabernacle. Yet even the soundest intentions might easily go too far. We must remember that some lace albes are valuable, however tawdry in appearance; certain churches possess old and good sets of foreign vestments; the six candlesticks in a row over the altar, while no doubt undesirable, are sometimes of beauty or value in themselves; or the east end of a church may be so constructed that it would be a costly matter to make such a rearrangement as would abolish them satisfactorily. If some of these things could be frankly regarded as exceptional, they could and should remain, but that is a very different thing from gradually pressing their use as normal or correct, which is what is going on at present. Where late and un-English vestments are in use, for example, it would be an easy matter to suggest the employment of apparelled albes and amices with them, and so get away from the ultramontane trend; other restrictions and combinations could be indicated that would prevent their being made part of our normal usage. Inventories would doubtless be taken of the contents of sacristies, and whether the less valuable foreign vestments be condemned would of course be decided by specialists qualified to speak on such matters, who might safely be entrusted with the task of weeding out really impossible ornaments. It would not be for them to say whether chasubles or candlesticks should be used, but to annotate inventories in such a way as to indicate whether particular chasubles or candlesticks are good or bad of their kind, or congruous or incongruous with their surroundings.

But it is clear that even were a church allowed to

retain a large number of irregular vestments or even some definitely Roman ones, this could not be made the excuse for retaining the appeal to Rome in ceremonial. That is a different thing altogether. A point of view has of late been carefully encouraged which regards "modern" (i.e. rococo) ornaments, or "Western" (i.e. Roman) ornaments as involving Roman ceremonial. This is not in the least necessary, even from the standpoint of actual practice within the Roman communion. The Dominican or Carthusian rites are constantly carried out with Renaissance vestments; so are the rites of Lyons and Milan. One hears it said "you cannot have an apparelled albe and amice if you have a 'modern' or an Italian chasuble." This is nonsense; for it is done in Milan every day. Like many another ruling in minor ceremonial matters, it is merely used to build up, little by little, a huge mass of Roman custom.

It ought to be easy to secure a sensible and wide toleration of what is, or ought to be, exceptional as regards the actual ornaments, side by side with the maintenance of the English rite as a whole, and of an English standard as regards details. From the artistic point of view, we need a reasonable latitude in the matter of style, although it is well known to students that too great laxity produces an unhealthy effect. The greatest artistic periods have always had a very definite tradition. Some of the most splendid artistic treasures in the world were evolved under stringent limitations. The artist need have no fear of any such liturgical rules as have been suggested.

All who are interested in the proper treatment of our magnificent series of ancient churches, or the stimulation of present-day ecclesiastical art in a

healthy direction would welcome such regulation most warmly.

Such regulation as is here suggested would be greatly assisted by more care with regard to liturgical instruction in theological colleges. If this were improved it would help to check the unhealthy influence exercised by many who have been trained as servers in Romanised churches.

Difficulties there certainly would be, and much would naturally depend on wise administration. But it is the careful, yet generous, and withal courageous facing of this hard problem that may yet prove to be the key to the whole situation, and may well be the beginning of peace for the Church of England.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESERVATION OF THE EUCHARIST

RECENT controversies have given the practice of Reserving the Eucharist an importance which does not belong to it. Let us go to the root of the matter and consider what Reservation of the Holy Eucharist really is. Essentially it is simply an accommodation to circumstances. There are communicants who desire to receive communion but cannot be present in church. If any who are actually present cannot kneel at the rails in the usual way on account of infirmity, the sacred ministers take the Holy Communion to them. Our earliest reference to reservation is Justin Martyr's statement, about A.D. 165, that the deacons took the Holy Communion to those who were absent, apparently straight from the altar. To postpone this till a later hour is merely a matter of convenience. And to take the Eucharist to sick communicants on a subsequent day is not essentially different. That it should be kept continually reserved from one consecration to another is merely a simple means of providing that it should always be available in cases of urgency. Obviously this could be secured in one of two ways. The Eucharist could be kept in church and administered when desired, or the communicant could keep it in his own house or carry it about till required.

This last method is unfamiliar and even repugnant to us to-day, but it was usual during the early periods of persecution, and indeed long after them. The privilege given to lay folk of reserving the Eucharist at home was

gradually withdrawn in later ages because of abuses. But it was long retained by the clergy, especially bishops, and when they had abandoned it on ordinary occasions, they still did it for some eight days after ordination or consecration. So too in the case of nuns: in early days they administered the reserved sacrament themselves, latterly only a consecrated nun reserved privately for a few days after her consecration as a special privilege.

Ultimately private reservation practically disappeared, and the Eucharist was kept continuously in the church until needed. Fundamentally, the whole reason of reservation is simply the need of delaying the actual giving and receiving of communion because a certain number of communicants have always been unable to be in their places in church. Being of the nature of a makeshift, reservation was more usually in one kind only, long before the chalice was withdrawn from the laity.

Looked at in this way, reservation seems a fairly simple matter. Yet in Western Christendom for several centuries the reserved sacrament has been a centre of controversy. We go further indeed, and say that for something like a thousand years the Eucharist itself has been the very storm-centre of ecclesiastical disagreement in Western Christendom. And that disagreement has reached its height over the Eucharist reserved. Now all this is a very shameful story. That the central rite of Christian worship ordained by Christ himself as the focus of unity and the closest point of contact with his own divine life should have been treated in this way in Western Christendom is a deep stain on Western religion. Very few people seem to realise this, and it is common to hear Western Christianity extolled at the expense of

that of the East, which has never suffered this controversial experience.

The same rigorous logic and crude popular exaggeration regarding our Lord's presence in the Eucharist which resulted in dangerous materialism regarding the doctrine of the real presence brought a change in regard to the reserved sacrament. The growing insistence upon transubstantiation led to the elevation of the host in the middle of the canon of the mass, and the elevation of the chalice followed; this went on through the 12th and 13th centuries. The ceremonial centre of gravity in the mass began to be shifted from the Gospel and the Offertory to the middle of the canon, and looking at the host when elevated became far more popular than receiving Holy Communion. Theologically, an idea of approaching our Lord in a way he did not ordain took the place of that coming unto the Father by him in the way that he did ordain. Hence it came to be that the Eucharist itself, apart from sacrifice and communion, began to be made a centre of devotion, and that the worship of our Lord inseparable from communion came to be associated first with the host elevated for adoration in the mass and then with the reserved Eucharist altogether outside either the service or the act of communion.

Hence came processions of the Eucharist, and the placing of it in a shrine like a reliquary, which was called a monstrance. Later on, abroad, the people and the crops were blessed with it, and later still the service of Benediction, especially in the evening, became common in many parts of the Roman communion.

Private reservation by ordinary communicants was stopped in early days because of abuses. People used

the Blessed Sacrament as a charm, as an amulet, or as a mascot, to use the language of to-day. It was even buried with the dead. And the same sort of thing began to return in other forms towards the end of the pre-Reformation period.

What we have to notice is this. The use of the Blessed Sacrament as a centre of devotion apart from mass and communion arose in Western Christendom at the same time as all those other practices grew up round the Eucharist which are peculiar to the West and unknown in the East. These practices did much to stimulate Protestant reaction and denials. They form part of the cause, even if they are not the very roots of the cause, of that vast and unholy accretion of Eucharistic controversy which has long been the peculiar disgrace of Western religion.

We are now in a position to understand why it is that the reservation of the Eucharist has long had so great a controversial importance. The growth of the *cultus* of the reserved sacrament stimulated Protestant denials, and these in their turn caused Latin Christians to defend and maintain the *cultus* as a protest against the Protestants.

We now continue our historical outline.

With the Reformation upheaval, all kinds of peculiar views were spread about regarding the Eucharist. If the scholastic theologians did harm with their application of logic to the Christian mysteries on one side, the Protestant theologians were even more mischievous upon the other. Luther's consubstantiation was as much an explanation of a mystery in terms of philosophy as was transubstantiation, and of all theological views regarding the Eucharist, perhaps that of Calvin is the most ab-

struse and difficult to understand. The serious defect of the Protestant views was, and is, their negative character. In attacking the exaggerations of Latin theologians the Protestants nearly always ended in denying the real presence or the Eucharistic sacrifice.

At the Reformation in England there were several forces at work. A great convulsion had come all over Western Europe. Here things were better than in most places, with the result that the old Church was herself reformed instead of being broken up. But there was a long struggle between moderate and extreme reformers. The First English Prayer Book of 1549 was largely the result of moderate influence. Then and since, the great desire was to restore the communion of the people, as part of the liturgy. Hence, while the First Prayer Book provided that the priest should reserve the Eucharist and take it to the sick "so soon as he conveniently may, after the open communion ended in church," it was also provided that upon days when there was no celebration in the church, there should be a special one in the house of the sick person. The Church had always been loth to grant permission to celebrate the Eucharist in a private house, but it was by no means an unknown thing, and this was really of the nature of an extension to the many of a highly valued privilege. Apparently the 1549 Prayer Book did not contemplate continuous reservation for unknown cases, although we have evidence that in some places at any rate the Eucharist was so reserved. For example, at Eddlesborough in Buckinghamshire as late as 1552, the King's commissioners in an inventory of the church goods refer to the hanging pyx as actually containing the Eucharist:

A pyxe of laten that the sacrament lyth in.

A canopy with iij crownes of latyn that hangyth over the sacrament.

On the whole, in England, except at the festival of Corpus Christi, there had been little *cultus* of the Blessed Sacrament outside the mass. It was still the sacrament *in action* (so to say) that was the centre of devotion, when the elevation of the host had come to be looked upon as the climax in the mass. But devotion to the elevated host had taken the place of communion. The reformers therefore, wishing to restore communion as the essential thing for the lay folk, forbade the elevation by a rubric in the Prayer Book of 1549. There may have been old people then living who could recall the tradition of the time when the chalice was still not elevated in some places. And it is probable that it was known then that there never was any such elevation in the East. At any rate no denial of any part of Catholic doctrine was involved; merely the cancelling of a ceremony of late origin used in part of the Church only.

But the influence of foreign Protestantism was on the increase and in a very few years, before the end of 1552, a second Prayer Book was produced which included many concessions to the extreme reformers. Some of these were made very cleverly, so as not to depart from what Catholic and ancient precedent allows, and the 1552 Prayer Book is often unnecessarily found fault with. But the direction to reserve for the sick was withdrawn. Still, in the rubric for the communion of the sick the word "minister" and not "celebrate," was used in such a way as to leave a loophole for possible administration of the reserved sacrament. And there is a remarkable case at Saffron Walden, where as late as

5 October 1552, King Edward VI's commissioners, after robbing the church, as usual, of almost every moveable ornament on which money could be raised, left among the barest necessaries "Goods delyvered for the ministrations of the devyne service"; "a little round boxe to carry the sacrament in with a purse to put it in."

However the 1552 Prayer Book had not the authority of the Church, and seems to have been scarcely ever used outside the London district.

The old Latin rite, according to Sarum use, was restored under Queen Mary, and when Elizabeth came to the throne, although the 1552 Prayer Book was replaced, it was with alterations of such far-reaching significance that nothing vital to Catholic tradition could be said to be authoritatively abandoned.

But in Elizabeth's reign the Church of England sank very low, weighed down by an extreme Protestantism, under which the Eucharist was so infrequently celebrated that reservation must have passed altogether out of use. Indeed, the next thing we hear of in this connection is the ultra-Puritan objection to any administering of communion to the sick.

We are here brought in contact with Scotland, destined later on to be of great importance in this matter. There the Reformation was far more violent, and came as a sudden stroke in the single year 1560. The most extreme reformers obtained power, and in less than twenty years the definite Presbyterianism of Andrew Melville ended the possibility of any moderate settlement. Early in the 17th century James VI took advantage of a certain reaction to get an undoubtedly valid episcopacy restored from England. Unfortunately the connection of episcopacy with the Stewart Government and its

political errors strengthened the extreme party. In 1618 there was great resistance to the Five Articles of Perth whereby a minimum of decent order was attempted. One of these gave permission for the sick to receive communion. We note the struggle was not between clinical celebrations and reservation, but between clinical communion and denying the Eucharist to the sick. A little later came the provision of a Scottish Prayer Book, instead of the meagre Puritan book then in use. Archbishop Laud wanted to introduce the English Prayer Book, but the Scottish bishops resisted this for something at once more Catholic and at the same time less likely to give offence in detail. The result was the issue of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, inaccurately known as Archbishop Laud's. But the legislature, acting largely from London, forced the use of the book in a tyrannical and illegal manner, with the result that there was a riot in Edinburgh, followed by the end of the Prayer Book and the triumph of the Puritan extremists. Then came the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 which drove out the bishops and inaugurated a Puritan reign of terror, which in its turn was succeeded by appalling reprisals by Charles II's Government after the Restoration.

We return to the Scottish Prayer Book, still-born as it then seemed, in 1637. The liturgy was modelled on that of 1549 but without permission to reserve. At the end a new rubric directed that:

if any of the Bread and Wine remaine, which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunk by such of the communicants only as the Presbyter which celebrates shall take unto him, but it shall not be carried out of the church.

Now this is the source of the rubric in the present English Prayer Book. We note its origin—the very reverse of Puritan. Its intention was to check the abuse of consecrating an enormous quantity and carrying the elements out of the church for secular use in the ordinary needs of life. No one who knows the facts could possibly suppose that it was intended to forbid reservation for the sick. To see such prohibition in it requires a curious straining of the letter as against the spirit. The same applies to the present English rubric, slightly adapted from the Scottish in 1662, when it was added for the same reason, viz. as a safeguard against Puritan abuses.

Such directions, moreover, were not new. The mediaeval church forbade taking the Eucharist out of the church when reservation for the sick was the rule, to guard against abuses of another kind. Such safeguards do not concern reservation for the sick, which is really part of the communion of the people, provision for which must be held to be assumed.

No better proof of this can be found than what went on in Scotland in the following century. It is really the next part of the history of reservation in the Anglican communion in point of time, for there is nothing to say about it in England, as it did not exist there till the 19th century revival, except among certain of the non-jurors. In 1690 the Scottish Revolution Settlement established Presbyterianism in place of Episcopacy. This was largely because the Presbyterians, dominant throughout the south of Scotland, supported the Prince of Orange, while the bishops and their followers in the north adhered to the Stewarts. Though they secured a measure of toleration under Queen Anne, the disestablished Episcopalians thenceforward under-

went an increasingly severe persecution at the hands of the Hanoverian Government and of certain of the Presbyterians who were able to use political leverage against them as Jacobites. Before the Revolution liturgical services scarcely existed. Afterwards, the definite severance from the Presbyterian party resulted in the Episcopalians gradually reviving them, some using the English Prayer Book, others restoring the communion service from the abortive Scots Prayer Book of 1637. Meanwhile Jacobite politics linked the Scottish Episcopalians with the non-jurors in England, who had separated from the English bishops and used their freedom for liturgical development, printing in 1718 a communion service, partly based on that of 1549, partly on earlier and better models. In this book they revived reservation for the sick. Moreover, they evidently interpreted the English Prayer Book rubric forbidding the carrying of the Eucharist out of the church as not applying in this case, for their new rubric merely supplements it.

The practice of the English non-jurors had great influence in Scotland, where a group of liturgical scholars arose who revised and improved the revived rite of 1637 and extended its use till it became general north of the Forth. Now these non-juring Episcopalians became involved in the Jacobite rising of 1745 and suffered accordingly. The butcher Duke of Cumberland led an army into the north of Scotland that behaved in a disgraceful way and destroyed Episcopal churches. Laws were passed which forbade anyone of our clergy to take a service with more than four persons present beside himself: two years' imprisonment was the penalty for the first offence, transportation for life for the second.

Under such conditions as these was evolved the Scottish liturgy of 1764. Though persecution slackened under George III, these degrading penal laws were not repealed till 1792, and the last disabilities were not removed from the Scottish Episcopal Church till 1863.

Stress has been laid on the penal laws because of their bearing on reservation. Celebrations of the Eucharist were few and far between; it was dangerous to hold them. The tradition of the north of Scotland was that many communions were made with the sacrament reserved. No 18th century Scottish rubric mentioned it, but it is beyond question that the old hereditary congregations of Aberdeenshire and the north emerged from the 18th century with reservation for the sick as the ordinary, regular and traditional custom.

Documentary evidence is practically *nil*, even in late times. When sick communions were recorded no one thought of mentioning that the reserved sacrament was used. It was the custom; the natural thing to do. In the early part of the last century a clergyman in Aberdeenshire would no more have recorded the fact that he used the reserved sacrament for communicating a sick person than he would have thought of specifying that at a particular service in church the newly consecrated species were used. To this day in the north there are old people who when ill would not like to be communicated at a private celebration. In north-east Aberdeenshire fifty years ago, the old folk spoke of communion with the reserved sacrament as "the Altar coming to them." When administering the reserved sacrament in cases of emergency the service consisted of Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access, Administration and Blessing. The

Collect, Epistle and Gospel were used wherever possible. But in other cases the whole service was said, except the actual consecration. Reservation was always in both kinds.

During the latter part of the 19th century, in certain editions of the Scottish liturgy, a vague rubric stating the custom of reservation was added, without authority, for the information of strangers from the south, but at the last revision in 1911 an authorised rubric was added as follows:

According to long existing custom in the Scottish Church, the Presbyter may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the communion of the sick, and others who could not be present at the celebration in church. All that remaineth of the Holy Sacrament, and is not so required, the Presbyter and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink.

We must therefore remember that reservation in Scotland is not a result of the Oxford Movement; it came down at least from the days of the non-jurors in the previous century, and Aberdeenshire tradition would make it continuous from still earlier times, like the mixed chalice, which in out of the way parts of the north seems never to have been given up. Among the traditional Episcopalians there was no High and Low Church party—we are not now speaking of more modern congregations in the south of Scotland with the English or Irish party tradition—and there was little or nothing in the way of ceremonial. A code of canons set forth at Aberdeen in 1811 recommended the cautious introduction of the surplice, and as late as 1876 there was at

least one remote church where it had not yet been introduced. The last rector but one of St John's, Longside, one of the most important of the old country congregations of Aberdeenshire, never wore a surplice. Yet there were reservation and the mixed chalice, the sign of the cross in the consecration of the Eucharist, triple affusion in baptism and many other instances of careful following of tradition. There had been controversies over some of these usages long ago in the 18th century; English people in the south of Scotland smelt popery in others in the 19th century; but of controversy around reservation there was none. As in the East to-day and everywhere in Christendom for more than a thousand years, there is no *cultus* connected with the reserved sacrament. There are no "visits to the Blessed Sacrament," no one gives Benediction or attempts to or wishes to, save perhaps in one or two town churches whose whole tradition is imported from England and who do not represent the Scottish standpoint. In most cases no one knows whether the Eucharist is reserved or not. But the fact of reservation is sufficient evidence of belief in the real presence. Only, as in the East, no one applies the rigour of logic to the mystery.

Such is the story of reservation in the only part of the Anglican communion where it has existed and developed unchallenged for any length of time. Here in England it was in abeyance, except among a section of the non-jurors, until the middle of the 19th century. It was not one of the first things to be fought for in the Catholic revival. But later on, reservation for the sick became an insistent demand. At first there was hesitation on account of the letter of one rubric about not carrying anything that remains out of the church. The Protestant party objected to it because it implied belief

in the real objective presence of our Lord. Later on events occurred which bred the suspicion that while it was demanded for the sick, it was really much more wanted for other purposes. Recent actions have unfortunately justified these suspicions, for we are now faced with a definite movement for introducing, not the reservation for the sick which is one of the few customs that can claim to be Catholic in the strict sense, but the whole of the peculiarly late and locally Western *cultus* of the reserved sacrament.

Hitherto the struggles of the Catholic revival have nearly all been for the revival of things which have always been part of the lawful heritage of the Church in this country, albeit disused for many years. And moreover they have been doctrines or practices of which it could be said that they belong to the universal Church, that they are common both to East and West. Now this making of the reserved sacrament a definite centre of worship is neither the one nor the other. Exposition, Benediction, "Devotions" and the like, are practices unknown to any part of Christendom for more than a thousand years, and still unknown throughout the East; uses of the Eucharist which form no part of its institution, and of which the growth seems to have led to the disastrous controversies, the actions and reactions of which have been a hindrance to Western religion for centuries.

We are told that they are the logical outcome of the doctrine of the real presence; that where our Lord is there he is to be worshipped. In the first place this appeal to logic is altogether dangerous. In the second place it is never carried out. Our Lord is present within any faithful communicant after he has received communion. To deny this would be a serious denial of the

truth. Yet we are not asked to genuflect to communicants as they leave the altar. Why not? It would be logical. But Rome does not do it. Or again we may be told that "visits to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament," or Benediction, or the like, stimulate devotion, attract people and have good results. Well and good—for the present. Are we sure that these results are permanent? Other practices have equally striking results; the cult of certain relics, such as the blood of St Januarius at Naples, or of the Holy House of Loretto. Are we prepared to adopt such practices as these?

Or perhaps it is said that we must make experiments and adopt new methods. Then why are these uses of the reserved sacrament always so carefully limited to just what is done in the Roman communion[1]? No one ever really strikes out a fresh line. There are Christians who have another kind of exposition of the Holy Eucharist. They leave it on the altar, spread out as it were before God, as a kind of extra-liturgical extension of the sacrifice. Nobody among ourselves has asked for or started this. Why not? Presumably because it is not Roman. Such a practice is not suggested—but it is used to illustrate the definitely Roman character of this movement for the extra-liturgical *cultus* of the Holy Eucharist. The real motive power behind it all is clearly that of assimilating Roman teaching and practice as

[1] It is well to note that those who are introducing Benediction and the like are the strongest advocates for taking the ablutions immediately after communion and transferring the *Gloria in excelsis* to the beginning of the service. This proves the Roman bias. A desire to emphasise Eucharistic adoration on its merits would find a ready opportunity in the structure of the English rite and indeed in its use by the older school of high churchmen. But when it comes to the point preference is given to Roman usage. At the same time it is fair to admit that there exist here and there a few men of other views who are experimenting with the extra-liturgical *cultus*. But they are exceptional.

the standard to which all else must conform. It is doubtful if the extra-liturgical use of the Eucharist is ever really considered on its merits, save in exceptional cases. There is an insincerity about it all that is most disquieting; we are told that reservation is wanted for the sick; it is immediately used for something else. We are told that Benediction and the like are wanted for reasons of practical devotion on their merits; on examination we find that the whole movement is carried on most carefully within Roman limits, and that it is all part of, and accompanies, definite Romanising in nearly everything else.

Here, as in so much else, our only real safety lies in the fearless appeal to what is really Catholic or universal. Nothing else will do; if Roman innovations and additions are safe in these matters why not in the matter of the papacy? Or in the question of the ordinal? It is vital to face this. If Roman methods are always so safe; if the Roman devotional atmosphere is so sound; if all things Roman are so right, it is surely most extraordinary that Rome should be wrong over the chief thing of all, viz. the papacy. There is a great deal to be said for the Roman position; it cannot be dismissed off-hand. But are we prepared to accept it? If so, well and good; we cannot stop half-way or even three-quarters of the way. But if we cannot accept it? Why can we not? Presumably because we are dissatisfied on Catholic or universal grounds; we cannot get over the witness of the East or of history, and we cannot unchurch the Church of England. But again we cannot stop there; we must apply these principles all round, and if we do, we must leave off looking to Rome as a safe guide. And we must find our guide somewhere else. In this particular matter we have the experience of the ages, and

of the East to-day, and among ourselves that of Scotland. And this witness is clear.

With the question of the Eucharistic *cultus* are involved other aspects of Eucharistic doctrine. For a long time past the teaching given has tended to make the faithful regard the celebration of the Holy Eucharist as primarily an occasion for the adoration of our Lord as present on the altar, not perhaps to the neglect of receiving communion, but as emphasising the subjective aspect of communion rather than the fundamental idea of the divinely ordained method of approaching the eternal Father. The Exposition idea has been getting uppermost, much as began to happen towards the end of the pre-Reformation period, in both cases through the disturbance of the old ceremonial balance by the importance attached to the purely Western elevation of the host and chalice and the accompanying ceremonies of later growth.

The elevation was forbidden in 1549 and not restored. It, and some of its adjuncts, formed part of the later mediaeval ceremonial in this country. Is it to be tolerated in this form, or should it be disallowed? It will not stand the strict Catholic test. Carrying the Eucharist in procession is in the same category. Exposition and Benediction are simply more extravagant and later Continental developments of the same kind.

Do not the *Gloria in excelsis* and the post-communion collects said, according to our rite, while the Blessed Sacrament is still on the altar, provide all that it is safe to allow of this particular form of Eucharistic adoration?

A very real difficulty is that the more extreme men would not accept any restrictions of this kind, unless perhaps if accompanied by a statement of Eucharistic

belief such as some of the bishops might hesitate to endorse.

The Orthodox Easterns unquestionably teach the doctrine of the real presence in so definite a form that all Anglo-Catholics ought to accept it. But they have no *cultus* whatsoever. They take no notice of the reserved sacrament, they do not burn a light or make any reverence before it. No one knows for certain whether there is reservation in any particular church or not. It is only in the act of taking it to a sick person that the priest prostrates himself, when the action of the liturgy is, as it were, resumed.

Would it not be possible to secure a settlement upon definitely Eastern lines? Would it not be possible for the bishops to get out of the difficulty of an agreed definition of Eucharistic doctrine by saying "What the East believes we believe, and what the East allows we allow; but what the East does not allow or customarily practise, that we cannot allow." There would be an outcry from both extremes, but in course of time there would follow a drawing together of the elements that really matter upon a basis of peace.

Note. Since this chapter was written a most important contribution to the subject of Reservation has appeared from the pen of Mr D. L. Murray, entitled *Reservation, its Purpose and Method* (Alcuin Club, Tract x, Mowbray, 1*s.* 6*d.*). In it Mr Murray points out the sterile character of the devotional literature produced by the *cultus*, the destructive effect the *cultus* has had upon Divine Service, or the Divine Office, and the way in which it has destroyed the traditional arrangement of chancels and of churches. Notwithstanding its small size, the importance of this book would be hard to overestimate.

APPENDIX I

A ROUGH LIST OF USEFUL BOOKS

The following uneven and imperfect list is of the nature of a rough guide for those who wish to do some liturgical reading for themselves. It is not a bibliography. For brevity's sake reference to the books has been made as short as is consistent with effectiveness and accuracy. The reader who desires to go further in any branch of the subject will find enough here to make a good beginning. He will soon discover other lines of reading from the books quoted by the writers to whom he is referred. The great mass of Continental literature dealing with the origin and history of Christian rites and ceremonies can only be mentioned to be passed over, although some acquaintance with it is necessary for the serious student. Nor has any attempt been made to indicate the literature dealing with the kalendar or services proper to special seasons of the year, or those only occasionally used, or peculiar to the bishop.

THE PRAYER BOOK

Procter and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Macmillan). The best general history.

Brightman, F. E., *The English Rite* (Rivington, 1915). Contains full text of 1549, 1552, present P.B. 1662, with originals in parallel columns.

A shorter and more popular book is *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book*, by Dr Percy Dearmer.

A Prayer Book Dictionary contains much useful matter, but is uneven.

The English Liturgy (Rivington), a book for use on the altar, is important, because it contains a number of proper collects, epistles and gospels which have the authority of several bishops. Up to the present it is the best book for its purpose.

CEREMONIAL: HISTORICAL

For the history of English ceremonial, including arrangement of churches and the like, see *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book, historically considered*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Rivington, 1899); *Ecclesiological Essays* (1905); *Essays in Ceremonial* (1905); *English Liturgical Colours*, by Hope and Atchley (S.P.C.K., 1918). For a shorter book, much more suitable for the ordinary reader, see *An Introduction to English Liturgical Colours*, by Hope and Atchley (S.P.C.K., 1920).

For ceremonial *after* the Reformation, see *Hierurgia Anglicana*, 3 vols., ed. Vernon Staley (De la More Press, 1902–4), and *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement*, by the late Dr J. Wickham Legg (1914).

For general principles of ceremonial, see Frere, *Principles of Ceremonial* (Longmans, 1906).

CEREMONIAL: PRACTICAL

The Parson's Handbook, by Dr Percy Dearmer, is a most able summary of the work of our best liturgical scholars, revised by several of them, and forms a guide for practical use in church. *It ought to be unnecessary to add that its contents are in no sense Dr Dearmer's own invention.*

A Directory of Ceremonial (Alcuin Club, Tract XII) is a much shorter guide to the carrying out of services upon the same lines.

Illustrations of the Liturgy: drawings illustrating ceremonial, by C. O. Skilbeck (Alcuin Club, Collection XIX).

With the exception of *Notes on Ceremonial*, by H. G. Morse, an older book, not up to date, though conveniently arranged for practical purposes, we may make a clean sweep of nearly all other Anglican ceremonial guides; the rest are usually mere attempts to popularise or adapt Roman ceremonial, without either Roman or

Anglican authority, without liturgical scholarship, and some of them misleading as to facts. The student may likewise ignore most of the 19th century "ritual controversy" literature, especially the Protestant attacks, which were based either on the narrowest Puritanism, or else on a very Erastian view of Privy Council decisions. This literature is not without interest for the history of the Oxford Movement, but it is no longer of immediate value.

THE RESERVATION OF THE EUCHARIST

The Sacrament Reserved, by the late Fr. Freestone (Alcuin Club, Collection XXI, 1917), is the standard work on this subject from the earlier times to the mediaeval period. A similar history of the varieties of the later *cultus* in the Roman communion has not yet been written. A certain amount may be found in a book by a 17th century French scholar, J. B. Thiers, *Traité sur l'exposition et bénédiction.*

INCENSE

Fully dealt with in *A History of the Use of Incense*, by Dr E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley (Alcuin Club, Collection XIII, 1909). The standard book on the subject.

OTHER ANGLICAN RITES

The modern Scottish Liturgy is published by the Cambridge Press: it can be obtained alone for 1*d.*, with the rest of the Scottish Prayer Book for 9*d.*

On the Scottish and American rites the standard work is *The Scottish Communion Office*, 1764, by the late Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr Dowden, 1st edition (Edinburgh, 1884); 2nd edition, ed. H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1922).

A shorter account is given in *The Scottish Liturgy, its value and history*, by W. Perry, D.D. (Mowbray, 1922).

For Scottish ceremonial usages, including Reservation of the Eucharist, see the present writer's *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy* (Alcuin Club, Collection XVII, 1910).

The Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 was edited with a full introduction by the late Professor Cooper, in the Church Service Society Series (Edinburgh, Blackwood).

The South African Liturgy is published by S.P.C.K.

THE ROMAN RITE

The official liturgical books, missal, breviary, ritual, pontifical, are easily procurable. The serious student should go to these and avoid all Anglo-Catholic adaptations or extracts.

ITS HISTORY

The best and most convenient book in English is the late Dr Adrian Fortescue's *The Mass, a study of the Roman Liturgy* (Longmans).

It should be remembered that there is a great and important literature dealing with the early history of the Roman rite which it is out of the question to particularise here.

ITS CEREMONIES

The late Dr Adrian Fortescue's *The Ceremonial of the Roman Rite described* (Burns and Oates, 1918) seems considered the best by the Roman Catholic authorities in this country. It has a Preface by Cardinal Bourne. It is far too well known among certain Anglicans.

OTHER LATIN RITES

I. ENGLISH

The Sarum Missal: best critical edition of text, ed. F. H. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861–83). Scarce and expensive. Translation by F. E. Warren (Alcuin Club, Collection XI, also Mowbray, 1913).

The Sarum Breviary: best critical edition of text, ed. Procter and Wordsworth. Scarce and expensive.

The Sarum Manual: see York Manual, ed. Henderson (Surtees Society, No. 63, 1874).

The Sarum Consuetudinary, ed. W. H. Frere, in *The Use of Sarum* (Cambridge Press, 1898–1901).

The Sarum Directory or "Pie," ed. Chr. Wordsworth in *Directorium Sacerdotum*, 2 vols. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1901).

The York Books, comparatively local in their use, have been edited by the Surtees Society.

The Hereford Missal, ed. by W. C. Henderson (1874). The Hereford Breviary, by W. H. Frere and Langton Brown (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903, 1913).

The Henry Bradshaw Society has also edited other English liturgical texts, e.g. The Westminster Missal, Coronation Services and important Celtic, early and foreign texts.

II. CONTINENTAL

The missals and other official books of some of the religious orders, e.g. the Dominicans, are comparatively easily procurable, but others are less accessible. There is unfortunately no general account of them.

The Milanese and Lyons books can usually be procured with a little trouble, but those of the Mozarabic rite are scarce and expensive. There is a good description of the former in *The Ambrosian Liturgy*, by E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley (Cope and Fenwick).

There is little or nothing in English about the numerous French reformed rites (i.e. Catholic, not Protestant) of the 17th or 18th centuries, save to an extent on the breviaries, by Dr J. Wickham Legg in *The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tommasi* (S.P.C.K., 1904).

N.B. No attempt is made here to indicate literature on the older Continental rites.

ORTHODOX EASTERN RITES

Owing to the great length of the Eastern services, the official books are much less easy to procure or to understand than those of Western rites.

There are a number of editions and translations of portions of them.

While *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. I, Eastern (all published) (F. E. Brightman), contains critical editions of the principal texts, the most useful compendium of the services of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church for practical use is the officially authorised English translation for use in America of the chief services, viz. *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church, compiled, translated and arranged from the old Church Slavonic service books of the Russian Church and collated with the service books of the Greek Church*, by Isabel Florence Hapgood. Revised edition with indorsement by the Patriarch Tikhon (Association Press, New York, 347 Madison Avenue, 1922). There is also an edition of the Liturgies of SS. Basil and John Chrysostom with Greek and English on opposite pages, by J. N. W. B. Robertson (London).

For understanding the Eastern position, *Russia and the English Church*, ed. W. J. Birkbeck, vol. I (all published) (Rivington, 1895), is indispensable; so also is J. A. Douglas, *The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox* (London, Faith Press, 1921).

The late Dr Littledale's *Offices of the Eastern Church*, long out of print, contains the principal occasional services.

APPENDIX II

WHAT IS WESTERN USE?

Reprinted, by permission, from *The Church Times*,
13 Jan. 1922

I

THOSE who understand the facts know, of course, that the current idea that the Roman rite and its ceremonies are rigidly adhered to throughout the West is a mere popular error. The Roman rite and its ceremonies are much more widely spread in Western Christendom than any other, although there are certain quite definite exceptions. It is not the present intention to discuss the past. But it may be worth while to recall two or three salient facts. It was largely at the instance of the Emperor Charles the Great that the Roman outline and canon dispossessed the Gallican more than one thousand years ago. There then grew up rites of a generally Roman type but with various Gallican elements, especially in ceremonial. Such were the different Western "uses." After Trent, the Roman rite as used in Rome was enforced on all who could not claim two hundred years' prescription, and it went much further in practice. But there was a great movement in France to provide reformed diocesan rites, preserving the French ceremonial, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it was only in living memory that the last of these were abolished. The present very widespread use of the strictly Roman books in France is more recent than many of us at all realize, and accompanied the wave of Ultramontane thought in the nineteenth century. It is true that the Roman rite and its ceremonies form the standard for all new or missionary countries in the Roman communion. It is also true that they are very widespread elsewhere. And it is also the fact that if

any question is referred to Rome, the Congregation of Rites answers it in accordance with Roman custom. But the Roman authority is much more tolerant of variations, especially in ceremonial, than is at all realized here, and seldom now goes out of its way to disturb them.

II

We will first glance at variations of rite. These are, of course, authoritatively recognized in the fullest possible way. A few are familiar. But the number and extent of them are by no means so well known. For example, one often finds people who believe that the Ambrosian rite in Milan is almost as limited in its use as is the Mozarabic in Toledo and Salamanca. In actual fact it not only covers the diocese of Milan but goes beyond it, and it is said to serve the needs of over a million souls in the north of Italy. It is carefully observed, and it is minutely regulated by a Congregation of Rites located at Milan.

The Mozarabic rite is almost wholly Gallican; its canon is divided in detached sections, with the Great Intercession at the Offertory. Much of the canon varies with the season. The Gospel follows the Epistle immediately. The Creed is invariable. The Ambrosian rite has been considerably influenced by the Roman, but it also is full of Gallican features. Its breviary is wholly different, and is based on a fortnightly and not a weekly Psalter.

There is a third secular rite in the West beside the Roman, viz., that of Lyons, the primatial church of France. Here the Roman element in the rite has become much greater, although the ceremonial is chiefly Gallican.

Turning to the religious Orders, we find that the Dominicans, Carmelites, Premonstratensians, Carthusians, and Cistercians have rites of their own with varying degrees of difference from the Roman, though all with the Roman canon, and the first three with what was till recently the Roman Psalter. The last two,

together with the Benedictines, have the Benedictine Psalter. These and other Religious have their own ceremonial, which in the case of the Dominicans and Carthusians is very Gallican, that is to say, what the uninstructed would call "very English." In the Dominican rite, for example, as in the Mozarabic, the chalice is mixed before the service at Low Mass, between the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass.

III

We now go a step further, and note that, even where the Roman rite prevails, some of the services in the Rituals are local or diocesan, e.g. marriage and burial. We leave these on one side and go on to observe that with the Roman rite there are extensive ceremonial variations. Gallican ceremonial still exists in very many places. It is no question of occasional survivals here and there, but of the flourishing and well-recognized practice of to-day. We have only to go to Rouen to see a non-Roman order of procession. Or to Caen to see tunicles worn by others than the sacred ministers. Spain is full of much more striking variations, e.g. altar lights varying with the season and the use of blue festival vestments. In Budapest the bishop's throne is on the south side, and there are no genuflexions at High Mass before consecration. The Mass without genuflexions seen in Sicily...is doubtless a case of ceremonial of the Gallican type which has come down from the Norman occupation of Sicily. Less than twenty years ago the Lent veil was common in Sicily. It was of a bluish colour and hung between the choir and the altar. Very likely it is still in use. At Lyons "ash-colour" or Lenten white is the rule to-day.

IV

The Roman altar and choir arrangement is notoriously not universal abroad. Nor are the Roman forms of the vestments. Altars that some people would call "English"

are frequent in Spain and Germany. They are not really English, but follow Spanish and German traditions. But they have frontals and cushions, no shelves, often no tabernacle, sometimes two lights only and those standing direct on the mensa. Mediaeval altars in Italy had these characteristics, though with certain other differences of arrangement. In Spain, when gradines and many candles are used, the method is different from that of France or Italy. In a Spanish cathedral the choir and altar are arranged as in Westminster Abbey. The bishop's throne at Barcelona is at the east end of the choir on the south side; in other Spanish cathedrals in the middle of the west side of the choir. So one might go on detailing the existing liturgical customs of different countries.

V

A good deal of popular confusion seems to exist regarding the forms of vestments used in Western Christendom. One wishes the visitor to Sicily had told us the exact forms of vestments current there. We understand the Roman form of chasuble and the Italian cotta are used in Malta.

There is no "modern Western" chasuble. Rome has the Italian shape, with a low neck in front and a "pillar" behind. Spain has a narrower shape, much longer, without the low neck. France has yet another, with a cross behind. And there are others. The difference is not always one of size. The mediaeval Roman chasuble was large and full, but it was neither English nor French. Like the Roman vestment of to-day, it had no cross behind, and it had the low neck with the cross-bar in front. A "fiddle-back" chasuble is not necessarily Roman; nor is a large one necessarily English in form. There are other differences. So with the surplice. The cotta, whether with or without lace, is peculiarly Italian. In the Middle Ages it was large and long. In many places abroad, not the cotta is used but a surplice pure

and simple, large, full, and fairly long, perhaps trimmed with much more lace than is usual in cottas. But this vestment is characteristically not Roman. Rome and many other places have disused the apparels on albs and amices. But Milan uses them. So does Spain. Yet a Spanish amice apparel is not like an English one, and the Milanese one is put on in a different way.

The place of Eucharistic reservation varies. The strictly Roman place is a tabernacle on the altar in a side chapel. The side chapel is also the rule in Portugal, and in Madeira, where it is shut off from the rest of the church by a curtain. But in the Peninsula the tabernacle is often not like a Roman one. In one or two French churches the hanging pyx is still in use. In Belgium and Germany the Sacrament House on the north side is in frequent use and often very gorgeous. At Milan the tabernacle has a peculiar canopy, something like a pyx-cloth. Western bishops do not all follow the Roman rules as regards themselves: in Spain the bishop often wears his hood over his chimere—to use Anglican terminology—and in France the mitre may be seen with the choir dress.

The biretta familiar to us is the Roman one; the French and the Spaniards use other forms. French servers frequently wear albs, Belgian servers rochets.

VI

The explanation is, of course, that there are two classes of rites and ceremonies, both Western. There is the Roman, which is and always has been more or less rigid. And there is the Gallican type, which includes much more variety. Even where the Roman rite exists, more or less Gallican ceremonial may be found with it. Indeed, many of the ceremonies it has had for centuries were originally Gallican.

In the matter of vestments there are—and always have been—not only the differences between Gothic and

Renaissance, mediaeval and modern, but also those of local and national tradition so strong that they persist through changes of size and decorative treatment.

Modern Western ceremonial is really a very large subject, not at all well explored or understood. It is evidently much wider than that of the ceremonial of Rome alone. Liturgical students have been occupied with more important things: the Liturgies themselves, the history of the Roman rite, or of the English uses, or of English ceremonial. Roman Catholics in this country have to learn and follow the Roman use, and are not concerned with any other tradition. We have no book from which we can learn the present-day practice in detail of the Continent as a whole. We can get some of the Milan or Lyons books and some of those of the religious Orders if we take the trouble. But the writer knows of no way of getting at the modern ceremonial of Spain or Sicily from books....

VII

In the Roman rite itself, with its own ceremonies, there are minor varieties of practice and differences of interpretation. Even in the city of Rome, in the Pope's own diocese, under the eyes of the Cardinal-Vicar, certain rubrics are not obeyed. And it is the same elsewhere. Who, then, can be sure that he is doing the correct thing? Only he who submits to the rulings of the bishop of the diocese, who is the authorized exponent of the Roman rite in that place. Upon the bishop lies the responsibility of enforcing or not enforcing this or that decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. The correct Roman use, as regards *minutiae*, is that which the bishop in communion with the Roman see uses or tolerates in that particular place. In a mission country like England, or even a country with no very old tradition like Ireland, this means in practice a fairly strict though not wholly complete following of

what is done in Rome itself. But this does not mean that in the rest of the Western Church things may not be done very differently in other places, as indeed they are.

VIII

In the Roman Church there seem to be two points of view regarding these things. There is the Ultramontane one, most in evidence in such countries as this, which desires the assimilation of every detail to the strict prescriptions of the Roman rite. There is also that of a vast number of other people in Western Christendom who seem to claim, or at any rate to practise, liberty for a kind of self-determination in non-essentials, and are yet in full communion with the Roman see.

APPENDIX III

A BENEDICTINE VIEW OF ENGLISH CUSTOMS[1]

THE admiration of learned Roman Catholic divines for English scholarship and English customs must be a little disconcerting to those English Churchmen who are fond of approximating their usage to that of the less-instructed Roman Catholics. The following passage from a review of *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* (Alcuin Club publication) is worthy of attention. "The altar, in fact, is the principal symbol of Christ, Who there comes into touch with earth. Next to the Holy Sacrament there is nothing among things visible more august than the altar. The English terminology in this matter vindicates this character of the altar, since it esteems it as the living Christ, and describes it as such. The altar has a front and a back; the antependium (a word which tells nothing) is called in English the *frontal*, and the border of the altar-covering is the *frontlet*, the curtain at the back is the *dorsal*, lastly, the retable (*restabulum*, something fixed—another commonplace word) is called in English *reredos*, from an old French word imported from Normandy like so many others.

"How completely is all this symbolism absent from the altar, as conceived by us, since the Renaissance! No longer any mystery, any curtains, any ciborium, seldom even a frontal! The altar is exposed unveiled to the common gaze, and the extravagant development of the reredos which surmounts it has reduced it to the obscure and humiliating function of a mere base. Happily the conscientious study of ancient and mediaeval customs is making more and more clear the deviations which have led us to the poor results of the present day.

[1] From *The English Churchman's Kalendar*, 1923, ed. Rev. Dr E. Hermitage Day.

Doubts are beginning to be felt, soon there will be a reaction. A few more publications like that of Dr Dearmer, especially if they defend our admirable Christian traditions with the fervour of conviction, and we shall see again the surroundings of the altar conspiring as of old to attract the attention and devotion of the faithful towards that which has never ceased to be the soul, the central point, the hearth (*foyer*), the *focus* of the Church."

This review is from the *Revue Bénédictine*, edited at the Abbey of Maredsous. The Benedictines, it need hardly be said, have contributed more than any other Order to liturgical studies in the last century.

CAMBRIDGE PRINTED BY W. LEWIS AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS